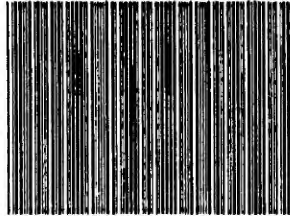


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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: 2/8/66

FROM : J. J. Casper

SUBJECT: AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION MIDYEAR MEETING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS; FEBRUARY 16 - 22, 1966
STANDING COMMITTEE ON JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW REFORM

By memorandum February 4, 1966, Inspector Edwards asked that the Legal Research Desk review the attached material on writs of habeas corpus in Federal Courts (by state prisoners) for matters of Bureau interest.

The Bureau has no interest in turning the flood tide of state prisoner petitions for writs of habeas corpus, directed to the Federal Courts, except that these petitions clog the court calendars and delay action on FBI cases. Any action which anyone can legally take to cut back on the number of petitions would be advantageous to the Bureau.

The Legal Research Desk agrees with the basic bill to restrict the number of these habeas corpus petitions and agrees, also, with the amendments proposed by The American Bar Association.

With respect to the proposal that the Chief Justice of Federal District, and Circuit Courts cease to serve as such upon reaching the age of 65, we have no comment. This matter is so far outside the Bureau's jurisdiction that we think it unnecessary for the Bureau to take a position.

RECOMMENDATION:

That these views be referred to Inspector H. L. Edwards.

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X THE CHINA DANGER X
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by

Richard L. Walker

February 1966

94-1-369-2015
ENCLOSURE

CONTENTS

I	Introductory Note	1
II	Failure of the Well-Intentioned	5
III	A Sobering Historical Parallel	14
IV	Current Realities	23
V	The Totalitarian Picture	33
	1. Absence of Legal Restraint	33
	2. Extreme Nationalism	36
	3. A Single, Oversimplified Universalist Doctrine	39
	4. Monopoly Party	42
	5. Personality Cult	44
	6. Glorification of War	49
	7. Military Buildup	52
	8. Vituperation	53
	9. Technique of the "Great Lie"	56
	10. Monopoly of Communications	58
	11. Secrecy	61
	12. Terror	63
	13. Total Economic Control	65
	14. Organization and Social Pulverization	67
	15. World Mission	71
VI	The Dangers	75
VII	Selected Documents	83
	1. China and International Bodies	83
	2. China and India	88
	3. China and the United States	90
	4. China and the Soviet Union	97
	5. China and Nuclear Weapons	101
	6. China and People's War	103

I

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The pages which follow stress one major theme--the full-blown totalitarianism of the present rule in mainland China. Today's China shares with other totalitarian regimes past and present a uniformity in patterns of internal control and of policies toward the outside world. These must be a paramount consideration for those peoples and governments who must deal with it.

Given the experience the world has already had with totalitarianism, it would be foolhardy to ignore this dimension of Communist China. This is not something which can be lightly brushed aside, nor should China's present institutions and policies be confused with the Chinese society within which they operate. Totalitarian regimes give a unique bent or direction to the civilizations they rule. They upset normal balance of forces within society and destroy pluralism in such a way as to make possible the pursuit of irrational policies and goals. The regimes cannot be assessed on the basis of the societies they rule. Thus we should not make the mistake of assuming that such items as diversified and increased international trade or the values in Chinese civilization or the modernization and increase in education will necessarily preclude further development of China's totalitarianism. Experience in Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union would argue otherwise.

Many are prone to skip lightly over lengthy quotations such as those which fill the text that follows. A fervent plea is made that the reader here will peruse them closely. The issues involved in the current world confrontation with totalitarian China are too great not to allow the totalitarians to speak for themselves. The quotations are for the most part drawn from two sources: the official daily newspaper of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Peking People's Daily and from its theoretical journal, Red Flag. It will also be noted that most of the quotations come from the year 1965. This is for two reasons: first, in Mao's China, as the documents clearly show, the fanaticism of the Communist regime was reaching new extremes during the year; and second, these official statements represent the present reality and direction of Communist China with which the outside world must deal. Lest there be doubt as to whether the shorter quotations in the text are truly representative--they are, and could have been reproduced a hundredfold--there have been added at the end a number of more lengthy excerpts dealing with Communist China's positions on its world relations.

In drawing parallels and offering examples of Communist China's correspondence with other totalitarian regimes, emphasis has been placed on the similarity with Nazi Germany on a number of scores. In doing so there has been no intention to underplay the extent to which Communist China draws its ideology, inspiration and institutions from Soviet totalitarianism, which, though undergoing change, still maintains its basic

features. But the obvious comparison between Mao's China and Stalin's Russia has already been eloquently drawn by the Soviet leaders themselves. The reader is urged, for example, to read in its entirety Suslov's speech of February 14, 1964, from which several comments have been drawn. The abhorrence of the Soviet Communist leaders with the present direction of mainland China is in itself testament enough of the dangers which the Mao regime poses for the outside world. Further, the drawing of parallels with Hitler's Germany helps, as the text points out, to stress the oft-forgotten fact that totalitarianism of the right and left belong to the same species.

United States Secretary of State Dean Rusk has indicated that he and the Government he represents in foreign relations understand the problem of totalitarianism in mainland China. It is hoped that some of the somber historical parallels which have been drawn below will help lend substance to the warning which he gave to the world on October 14, 1965:

The Chinese Communists are the main barrier to peace in Southeast Asia. Peiping must learn that aggression and violent subversion will not be allowed to succeed. The prospects of peace are not served by any action or any words which may encourage Peiping to think that it is on the right track--that it can reap rewards by adhering to its strategy of violence.

The dangers posed by Communist China, a giant country and massive population pushed by their leaders into a state of frenzy, will not be easily or simply averted. But certainly the first condition for averting them is to understand the nature of the totalitarianism which now holds that troubled country in its grasp.

Richard L. Walker

February 1966

II

FAILURE OF THE WELL-INTENTIONED

The single, simple overpowering fact of international life in Asia today is the intense and full-blown totalitarianism of Communist China. This fact is well understood by the Communist leaders in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, who learned of the extremes of modern totalitarianism at the hands of Stalin and Hitler, and it accounts, at least in part, for their worry about and revulsion at the policies of the regime of Mao Tse-tung. This fact is also the most frequently overlooked by today's advocates of appeasement who argue that the outside world, and particularly the United States, must accommodate to Peking's policies rather than requiring Communist China to accept the obligations and standards of international law and internationally accepted decent behavior.

The approach of today's appeasers, who prefer to play down the realities of mainland China's totalitarian dynamics, has been manifest in numerous statements and appeals demanding abandonment of present American policies. Some of the most eloquent of these appeals have come from professors and students in the country's major centers of learning. Their concern for peace is understandable, legitimate and commendable, but all too frequently the scholarship and manner of presentation of issues is hardly of the same order. Many groups, now active on the American scene, had their counterparts in the 1930's, when

scholars and public alike were reluctant to face up to the realities of totalitarianism in the Soviet Union or Germany or Japan. The arguments, assumptions, and excuses advanced regarding Communist China have a resonance with those of the 1930's. The following are among those most frequently advanced--in fact, phrases in quotation marks are drawn from the presentation of one such group:

1. That the United States and Communist China are equally to blame for the current tension and impasse in the Far East. Not only does this place the government of the United States on an equal plane with the regime of Miao Tse-tung, but it implies equal guilt in such instances as the Korean War or the events in Tibet in 1959 or in differences that arose with Indonesia in late 1965.

2. That "China feels herself surrounded by hostile and dangerous forces," and that this in large part accounts for the "Maoist revolutionary doctrine" and for the "shrill cries from Peking." This is, to be sure, historical nonsense, for the Chinese Communist doctrines, which are being pushed so forcefully today, and the behavior patterns of the top Chinese Communist leaders were formulated long before Mao Tse-tung came to power. Stalin, too, complained about capitalist encirclement and in April 1939 Hitler denounced "the international war-mongers whose real purpose is to prepare public opinion to regard the English policy of encirclement as necessary, and consequently to support

it should the worst come to the worst." And in 1940, Japan was blaming the U.S. for a "policy of encirclement."

3. That "Four American administrations have followed a policy of unwavering hostility" towards Communist China. This too is patently not so. That the United States has opposed some of the totalitarian manifestations of the Mao regime is true, but over the years the American government has patiently explored possibilities for detente with consistency and its gestures have been met with contempt, derision and even profane abuse. In fact, such gestures have been treated as former totalitarians treated them--as signs of weakness and division in the "camp of the enemy."

4. That somehow it is the policies of the United States which are to blame for Communist China's hostile stance in the world. This is, of course, just as distorted a view of United States' supposed power to call the tune everywhere in the world as was the assertion fifteen years ago that somehow a few Communists in the United States were responsible for the fall of all of the China mainland to Communist control. The United States, after all, is hardly responsible for the present Peking diatribes against and hostility toward the leadership in the Soviet Union or in India or in Indonesia.

5. That the China policy of the United States has not been open to debate inside the Government or among the public at large. This

assumption of a sort of "grand conspiracy" behind American policy does great disservice to the integrity of duly elected and appointed American officials, who explore and constantly discuss possible moves which can lead to peaceful settlement; it underestimates the extent to which American policies like those of other governments must work within the framework of "the given"; and it overlooks the extent to which China and China policy have been discussed and debated freely and intensely on the American scene over past years.

6. That there are a wide range of reasons which can excuse the conduct of the Mao regime on the international scene, such as:

a. Past injustices against China on the part of the imperial powers. But Allied intervention in the Soviet Union during the early part of the Communist rule can hardly explain Stalin's policies nor can the inequities of the Versailles Treaty excuse Hitler's excesses.

b. China's need to have friendly states on her borders. But it was just such an argument which was used to excuse Japan's expansion into Manchuria--the phrase then was "territorial proximity creates special interests"--and to justify the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe.

c. Mainland China's leaders talk sincerely of peace and indeed need peace for domestic construction. But Hitler and

Stalin also claimed to be following "peace" policies, and this claim had to be measured, as it does in the case of Communist China, against an all-pervasive "we-they" or "who-whom" doctrine and operational code.

d. The regime apparently has the support of the Chinese people. But given the experiences with the regimes of Hitler and Stalin and the fact that the refugee traffic is still preponderantly from mainland China, can this really be determined?

The war in Vietnam has brought the question of China and China policy into sharp focus, for it is the type of "people's war" which the Chinese Communist leaders claim brought victory for them, and it has their backing. The war in Vietnam is so closely related to the power of mainland China and its projection that attention to and analysis of the institutions and policies of the Mao regime become a first order of business. Peking has allowed no doubt that it considers Vietnam the critical testing-ground for proving that its technique of "people's war" can prevail against "U. S. imperialism".

The United States is facing up to Communist China's totalitarianism in Vietnam and elsewhere in Asia today because we have learned the truth of Santayana's warning that "Those who do not remember the past are condemned to relive it," because of the terrible price paid when the British failed to face up to the threat to their own security in the actions

by Hitler's proxies in Austria and in the Sudetenland thirty years ago, and because we have been confronted with sufficient evidence in action and document to appreciate the awesome nature of the totalitarianism which controls mainland China.

French Ambassador André François-Poncet, who during the 1930's watched the consolidation of Hitler's power at first hand and whom William L. Shirer calls "probably the best informed ambassador in Berlin," wrote in 1965:

Mao Tse-tung needs a lessons. If he does not get it soon, tomorrow will be too late to administer it to him. If we had taken action against der Führer when he first stepped out of line, perhaps he would not have dared go further. He [Mao] wants to be master of Asia and Africa, of the yellow and of the black races. . . . Indochina is one of the obstacles in his path. If he can break it down, there will be no holding him. By blocking him, America is defending the cause of the free world, our cause, and we should give her our support.

The historical parallel which François-Poncet draws warrants some elaboration, for the lessons of history are currently being ignored by those who argue that carefully considered policies, developed by conscientious and level-headed public servants in possession of great wealth of data and arrived at after intra-government debate and weighing of alternatives, should be abandoned in favor of following the evanescent currents of public opinion.

In March 1936, thirty years ago, the armed forces of Nazi Germany occupied and remilitarized the Rhineland in violation of treaty agreements. This was a clear-cut challenge to the democracies by the new totalitarianism which had seized Germany, and even though other similar acts were to follow in rapid order--Austria, Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia--the democratic nations of Europe clung to their hopes for peace and preferred not to believe that Nazi totalitarianism was a vital threat to the security of everyone. After the resultant carnage of World War II, Winston Churchill, looking back to the remilitarization of the Rhineland, noted, "Lord Lothian's contribution was: 'After all, they are only going into their own back-garden.' This was a representative British view." And it was to Britain that the people of Europe looked for leadership as well as force in meeting the Nazi challenge.

Through the crises that followed, British leaders and the British public, as well as their companions on the Continent, reached out for all manner of excuses and rationalizations to avoid unpleasant realities which a few like Churchill were warning them they must face some day and at a much greater cost. The reasoning makes somber reading indeed. The forces of the Wehrmacht were, after all, some argued, greeted with flowers and enthusiastic cheers in the Rhineland and in Austria. Then, too, was there not some excuse for Hitler's action, given the vindictive nature of the Versailles Treaty? Again, there was

the famous "peace ballot" which gained more than eleven million signatures in Britain, even though its clause justifying multilateral action against aggression was hidden in the propaganda surrounding its name. And further, in Britain university students and their dons demonstrated in favor of their belief that no cause was worth the risk of war in the modern age.

Many people argued with some logic that Hitler's Germany was being much maligned by his detractors. Had he not brought Germany out of the depths of inflationary chaos and the depression? Had he not won the overwhelming support of the German people? Tourists tramped in and out of Germany and found little about which to complain. Some argued that surely the concentration camps and other dread aspects of Nazi life denounced by the "warmongers" could not be as widespread as people claimed; otherwise, how would the Germans have been able to risk playing host for the Olympic Games in 1936, an occasion when mass demonstrations, enthusiasm and discipline of the youth, and the great constructional activities impressed visitors from all over the world? Later Neville Chamberlain was to find Hitler a "reasonable man" and assure the British people at the time of Munich that he was "a man who could be relied upon when he had given his word." Czechoslovakia was a faraway country, and Germany had, after all, a right as a great power to demand the inclusion of all Germans under its control. Was not a

divided Germany an even greater threat to world peace? Did not the Germans have more reason to be concerned about policies and developments in countries on their borders than Englishmen, who were so far away?

Such were the arguments of the leaders, political and intellectual, and they were accepted by the majority of the peoples in the democracies in Europe. These arguments made sense because no one could believe that any nation in modern times would be insane enough to embark on a path leading to war, and because at that time, even though Stalin and Mussolini and the ultranationalists in Japan were adding to the evidence, few people understood that modern totalitarianism is not just an intensified despotism like those of the past. Few comprehended that mankind had arrived at a new type of institutionalized tyranny wedded to a permanent revolution. These are the arguments of the well-intentioned of today whose failure in understanding is equally disturbing.

III

A SOBERING TOTALITARIAN PARALLEL

Perhaps, before we examine the evidence that mainland China's totalitarianism is of such dimensions that it is major threat on the world scene, we should consider a case which illustrates the congruence of totalitarian methods.

In the spring of 1959, when the Tibetan people were paying a grim price for their attempt to maintain their integrity and their own culture, observers, with justice, drew analogies with Stalin's oppression and genocide against minority groups in the Soviet Union or with the brutal crushing of Hungary's bid for freedom in 1956. There was another parallel which could have been drawn: Hitler's takeover of Austria. Perhaps the reason it was so seldom mentioned is that many people are still reluctant to accept the fact that totalitarianism of the right and of the left belong to the same species, that there is a real uniformity in totalitarian methods. The techniques are the same, the language is the same, the results are the same.

On March 13, 1938, following the occupation by troops from Nazi Germany, Austria was formally incorporated into Hitler's Third Reich. During the preceding years Austrian Nazis, organized and directed from Germany, had succeeded in throwing that happy country into turmoil. In 1954 they had assassinated the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss and had

carried out formidable attacks on law and order with which his successor Schuschnigg attempted to cope. By bluster and threat in 1938, Hitler pushed Schuschnigg from one concession to another until the Austrian leader was forced from office, and following the entry of German forces was made to endure shameful humiliation and eventually a concentration camp, until he was rescued from impending death by Allied forces in 1945. Meanwhile, thousands of innocent Austrians paid the ultimate price for resisting Hitler's "liberation" and many more thousands escaped to tell their story to an incredulous world.

In March, twenty-one years later, Tibetans rebelled against their Chinese Communist overlords, and the armed forces of Mao Tse-tung moved in to "liberate" the Tibetan people and restore order. Fortunately the head of the Tibetan state, the Dalai Lama, and thousands of others were able to escape to India and did not suffer the fate of a Dollfuss and the Austrians who opposed the Nazis. But the Panchen Lama, who tried to accommodate to the wishes of the Chinese Communists, did share somewhat the same fate as Schuschnigg, for though in 1959 he joined in denouncing the Dalai Lama as a traitor, by 1964 he had been removed from office and was undergoing "labor education." Refugees in India and reports of continued fighting in the Himalayan highlands allow no doubt that an oppressive control is being exerted over the people of Tibet and that their national existence is in jeopardy.

In both these cases it is instructive to observe the wording of the rationalizations of those who brought "liberation" by a totalitarian party and armed force.

The "Liberators'" description of conditions

Oppression--Hitler's Version, 1938

By the most brutal methods of terrorism, and bodily and economic torture and annihilation, a regime which lacked any legal mandate sought to maintain an existence which was condemned by the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people. . . . I have further tried to persuade the responsible authorities that in the long run it is impossible for a great nation, because it is untrustworthy of it, to have to stand by and watch those belonging to the same people as themselves being continually oppressed, persecuted, and imprisoned . . . Germany alone has been forced to receive over 40,000 fugitives, 10,000 others within this small country have passed through prisons, dungeons, and concentration camps, hundreds of thousands have been reduced to beggary, to misery, and poverty.

Hitler's Proclamation of March 12, 1938

Oppression--Peking's Version, 1959

The existing social system in Tibet is an extremely backward system of serfdom. The degree of cruelty which characterized the exploitation, oppression and persecution of the labouring people by the serf-owners can hardly be paralleled in any other part of the world.

"Resolution" by National People's Congress, April 28, 1959

Minority rule--Hitler's Version, 1938

A minority of 10 per cent has oppressed the majority of 90 per cent. Well, I have put an end to that. But I have done still more. I have prevented the majority from revenging itself

upon its oppressors. I hope the world will realize that it is a work of peace that I have performed.

Hitler "Interview", March 14, 1938

Minority rule--Peking's Version, 1959

. . . three kinds of serf-owners only account for approximately 5 per cent of the population, that is, about 60,000 of the 1,200,000 population of Tibet. . . . Reforms naturally call for action, and they should naturally be in the interests of the overwhelming majority who demand reforms . . . reforms should benefit first of all the 1,140,000 people who account for 95 per cent of the population.

People's Daily "Editorial," May 6, 1959

Population decline--Hitler's Version, 1938

The economic distress was consequently ghastly, the yearly mortality figures rose to a terrifying height. In Vienna alone last year there were 10,000 births as against 24,000 deaths.

Hitler's "Report" of March 18, 1938

Population decline--Peking's Version, 1965

This diabolical system of serfdom kept Tibetan society in a state of protracted stagnation and cultural backwardness and led to an economic decline. It had begun to threaten the existence of the Tibetan nationality, for in the century prior to liberation, the population of Tibet dropped by 60 per cent.

"Resolution" by National People's Congress, April 28, 1959

The "Welcome" to the "Liberators"

Hitler's Version, 1938

Certain newspapers have said we fell on Austria with brutal methods: I can only say: even in death they cannot stop lying.

I have in the course of my political battle won much love from my people, but when in these last days I crossed the former frontier of the Reich there met me such a stream of love that I have never experienced a greater. Not as tyrants we come but as liberators: an entire people rejoiced.

Hitler speaking after Anschluss, March 25, 1938

Peking's Version, 1959

In putting down the rebellion, the People's Liberation Army confiscated the official seals of the feudal government, the arms of the rebel bandits and the court whips--the serf-owners' instruments of torture. The Tibetan people everywhere greeted this with the joy of hailing rain after a long drought. . . . In many villages of the Loka area, the people gathered together as soon as they learnt that the People's Liberation Army were coming, to present them with hata (ceremonial scarves), to bring them crimson peach blossoms and fresh willow wands. . .

People's Daily, May 6, 1959

On the Former Rulers

Hitler's Version, 1938

Herr Schuschnigg perhaps did not think it possible that I could make up my mind to intervene. He and his adherents can thank the Lord God for my intervention. For in all probability it is only my resolution that has saved his life and that of ten thousand others--a life that after their complicity in the deaths of countless Austrian victims of the Movement they no longer deserve to live, but which the National Socialist State in its moderation, as sovereign victor, grants to them.

Hitler speaking on March 16, 1938

Peking's Version, 1965

Although the group of traitors under the Dalai Lama was but a bunch of black sheep who had fled to the wild, yet they still put up a last-ditch struggle. . . . After the Dalai rebelled against

the country, the Panchen organized a counterrevolutionary group on behalf of the overthrown serf-owning class to carry out rabid activities against the people, the fatherland and socialism. Although the crimes committed by the Panchen were serious, yet the Party and the people still gave him a chance in hope that he could mend his ways and start with a clean slate. The Party and the people have dealt with him leniently, and whether or not he would make amends is for him to decide.

Hsieh Fu-chih, speaking to the First
People's Congress of the Tibetan
Autonomous Region, September 1,
1965.

The Better Life to Come

Hitler's Version, 1938

Our task will now be through work, through industry, through common effort, and through standing together to solve the great social, cultural, and economic problems, and above all to develop Austria more and more and build it up as an outpost of National Socialist sentiment and of National Socialist strength of will.

Hitler speaking on March 15, 1938 in Vienna

Peking's Version, 1959

The Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region should, in accordance with the Constitution, the aspirations of the broad mass of the Tibetan people and the social, economic and cultural characteristics of Tibet, carry out democratic reforms in Tibet step by step and free the Tibetan people from suffering so as to lay the foundations for the building of a prosperous, socialist new Tibet.

"Resolution" by National People's Congress, April 28, 1959

Only when the documents became available after World War II, did the outside world learn the full story of the appalling human cost of

Hitler's "liberation" of Austria. The documents revealed also the extent to which the disruption, internal crises and violence in Austria were calculatedly engineered by the Nazis from Germany in order to justify the expansion of their system.

But even before the Anschluss, Nazi agents, subsidized by the German Foreign Office, had begun their pattern of disruption and violence which was to lead to the seizure of yet another state, Czechoslovakia. Nazi propaganda offered accounts of "brutal oppression" in Czechoslovakia and protests were launched from Berlin about "barbarous acts of terror" by the Czech government against the German inhabitants of the Sudetenland.

Hitler's portrayal of the situation in Czechoslovakia, part of which was true because of the methods employed by his agents, reads like a description in today's Chinese Communist press of conditions in South Vietnam. On September 27, 1938, Hitler replied to a telegram from President Roosevelt who had urged that negotiations not be broken off over the "question" which had become such a threat to peace. In part, the Nazi dictator said:

At the present moment there are 214,000 German refugees who have been forced to leave house and hearth in their hereditary homeland and have escaped over the German frontier because they saw in this the last and only possibility of escaping the hideous Czechoslovak rule of violence and bloody terrorism. Unnumbered dead, thousands of wounded, tens of thousands who have been arrested and imprisoned, deserted villages--such are the witnesses which bring their charge before the world public, witnesses of that outbreak of hostilities, begun long ago on the part of the Prague Government, which you in your telegram justly fear, to say nothing

of the destruction of the economic life of the Sudeten German area which has been systematically pursued by the Czech Government for twenty years.

Hitler's massive propaganda began to have some effect. The "world public" to which he referred was given photographs and real life stories to back up the charges of der Führer. Reasonable voices throughout Europe began to assert that Hitler must have some right on his side after all. "Where there's smoke, there must be fire," were words adduced to indicate that Hitler must have some right on his side. Just as Peking and Hanoi today play up countless incidents to prove that the Government of the Republic of Vietnam deserves no support, so too, the Nazi propaganda machine asserted that the government in Prague represented nobody and was a tool of outside forces. Just as Peking today asserts that the "U. S. imperialists" are using South Vietnam to prepare for an attack against China and that the leaders in Saigon oppress their people to serve the interests of the "U. S. aggressors," so too did Hitler attack the government of Mr. Beneš. In his famous Berlin Sportpalast speech of September 26, 1938, Hitler charged Mr. Beneš with introducing a "reign of terror" in which all who objected to his measures "were shot down." Said der Führer:

He has hurled countless people into the profoundest misery. He has managed to make millions of people fearful and anxious. Through the continuous employment of his methods of terrorism he has succeeded in reducing to silence these millions while at the same time it is also clear what were the "international" duties of this State. No longer was any secret made of the fact that this State was intended, if necessary, to be employed against Germany.

But even before those peaceful folk, who thought that the Nazi dictator could be placated with minor concessions, had decided to aid in the dismemberment of the Czech state, Hitler's agents had already begun preparations for applying the same "liberation" techniques in Poland. So too, as Viet Cong terrorism and Chinese Communist-style "people's war" seemed about to succeed in undermining internal and external support for the Republic of Vietnam, Peking, in December, 1964, voiced its support for the "Thailand Independence Movement" and began to play up the danger to world peace from the "oppressive acts" of the Thai government. Acts of violence and assassinations of village leaders in northeast Thailand were presented by Peking as heralding eventual "liberation".

Obviously such parallels cannot and should not be stretched too far, but the lessons are clearly there. Little wonder the former French Ambassador in Berlin François-Poncet has lent his voice in support of United States' action in Vietnam, for American determination to stand firm there marks the major difference between the reaction to Hitler's threats in 1938 and the response to the danger posed by Mao Tse-tung's China today. In South Vietnam the United States has shown a determination not to let the people be seized by the forces which have assassinated leaders, disrupted the economy, projected a reign of terror, and aided in making some of the Communist claim that there is no stable government at least partially valid.

IV

CURRENT REALITIES

Historical parallels are useful for illustrating and calling attention to current realities; they also serve to remind us of the danger of memories that are too short. But it is the realities themselves which deserve the closest scrutiny.

One such reality is the current leadership of Communist China. This tightly-knit group of dedicated revolutionaries has shown a remarkable continuity over a period of decades. They regard their success as proof positive of the validity of their belief system and justification for their actions, and it should not be surprising that they project onto the world scene as universal truths those methods by which they came to power and which have enabled them to consolidate control over mainland China. In coping with Communist China today it is all too easy to forget this factor of continuity in leadership. These are the same people who used armed violence against their government in the 1930's and 1940's; these are the same people who from 1949 to 1952 executed millions of their fellow Chinese in the cause of their class struggle doctrines; these are the same people who have not hesitated to perpetrate such frauds upon the world as the claim (still maintained) that South Korea launched an invasion of North Korea in June 1950 or the "germ warfare" hoax of 1951 or the charge that the Dalai Lama had been kidnaped in 1959; these are the same

people who launched the incredible back-yard iron furnace drive in 1958 and the same leaders who claimed that the "people's communes" would usher in a Communist paradise in only a few years.

On the other hand the Communist leadership in China has brought discipline, organization, direction (albeit frequently erratic) and mobilization to their society. Under the rule of the current leaders much has been accomplished. China is a vast and complex land in the throes of transition to modernity, and some of the dynamism and revolutionary ardor of the Communist leadership has been channelled into efforts for the betterment of life in China as well as into building raw power and carrying on a power struggle. Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues have been aware that among their people, some of whom are among the most sophisticated in the world, it has been necessary to support positive values and embark upon projects deserving national support. Hitler and Stalin and Mussolini were equally aware of this. There can be no gainsaying the capability of totalitarian regimes for remarkable accomplishments. In fact, to underestimate or to play down accomplishments only plays into the hands of totalitarian rulers, who can point to the realities of achievement in contrast with the picture painted by enemies. The Chinese Communist regime has been able to accomplish much through its appeal to national pride and because it has been willing to overlook human costs. China is today a formidable military power. It has atomic weapons and will shortly have a sophisticated delivery system for them. This fact alone serves to symbolize the changes effected by the Communist regime.

One aspect of totalitarian ability at major achievement, frequently misunderstood on the outside, however, is the extent to which people have tended to throw themselves into their work--scientific as well as cultural--as a method of escapism. The scientific and engineering feats of Russia under Stalin were formidable. So too, scientists and scholars in mainland China have sometimes found an outlet for their creative capabilities through concentration exclusively on their specialized work. Some of the remarkable progress in Communist China may be said in part to stem from the determination of talented Chinese to make their identification with their work rather than with the regime. Much of this became clear in the spring of 1957 during the "Hundred Flowers" campaign when critics of the regime had a brief month's opportunity to speak out against their oppressors. To deny, therefore, some of the facts of creativity in mainland China--not alone in hydroelectric power or atomic energy, but in art or archaeology--would be to overlook the genius of people who sometimes create almost as an act of political defiance.

On the other hand; a greater error would be to equate progress or solid constructional activity with support for the Chinese Communist regime. The subsequent revulsion of the German people to the Nazis and of the Soviet people with the tyranny of Stalin, as well as the documents of the "Hundred Flowers" period, indicate all too clearly the fallacy of this equation.

But internal achievements aside, it is the direction and all-pervading ethos of violence and antagonism which makes the Chinese Communist regime so frightening. Communist China is today a society at war--at war with reason, at war with its own people, and at war with the outside world.

Many of the alarming aspects of the current totalitarian bent of the Mao regime have been detailed for the world by fellow Communists and formerly friendly neutralists. Their words deserve close attention. They make it all too clear: Peking lives in a phantasy world, a world filled with overly simplified forces and enemies. All who do not applaud Communist China, its god-like leader, and its policies are viewed as lackeys or leaders of the dark forces of imperialism. So great is the present derangement in the top levels in Peking that every obstacle encountered is viewed as the result of a grand conspiracy. So convinced are the Chinese Communist leaders of their infallibility that all others are considered guilty of irrational conduct when they disagree. Everyone else is wrong! Mao and his colleagues are presently incapable of heeding the advice of their country's great sage, Confucius: "The inferior man blames others; the superior man examines himself."

A few examples from the year 1965 can illustrate the extremes to which Peking's phantasy has gone; each of the following is from an official Chinese Communist Government statement or a diplomatic note:

Britain, June 11, 1965: The British Labour government has become disreputable and is caught in a dilemma because it faithfully follows the U. S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. (On the occasion of the issuance of a British White Paper describing unsuccessful peace efforts in Vietnam.)

India, September 24, 1965: The Indian government glibly claims that it is a peaceful country and a good neighbor, but in fact it is an arch-hypocrite talking no end of fine words while doing no end of evil deeds. . . . What India calls "peaceful co-existence" is a smokescreen for covering up its pursuance of an expansionist policy.

Japan, November 16, 1965: The adoption of the Japan-Republic of Korea Treaty indicates that the Japanese reactionaries and the U. S. militarists, working hand in glove, are bent on plunging the Japanese people once again into the abyss of a criminal war of aggression. . . . The iniquitous actions of the Sato government will only stimulate the Japanese people to carry on their struggle with greater determination.

Tunisia, November 19, 1965: President Bourguiba's words and deeds against China have seriously impaired the relations between China and Tunisia. The Chinese government would like to renew its advice to the Tunisian government and President Bourguiba . . . to put an end to your words and deeds detrimental to the friendly relations between the two countries. Otherwise, you will reap what you sow.

Indonesia, December 9, 1965: The Chinese Embassy . . . demands that the Indonesian Government . . . publicly apologize for the incidents in which China's national flag and state leaders were insulted; that it severely punish those who masterminded the atrocities and the murders of Chinese nationals and give relief to the bereaved families of the innocent Chinese victims . . .

Soviet Union, December 29, 1965: . . . the Khrushchev revisionists are uniting with U. S. imperialism against the people of the world and carrying out the policy of U. S. -Soviet collaboration for world domination. . . . They are enforcing the dictatorship of the privileged bourgeois stratum in the Soviet Union and have embarked on the road of capitalist restoration.

Peking's fanaticism has caused bewilderment among many who have attempted in the past to offer explanations and apologies for Chinese Communist bad manners. On December 2, 1965, Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio reported that he had urgently requested Peking to stop broadcasting insinuations that Indonesia was under control of rightwing groups. Two days later the Indonesian official press warned, "Regardless of how gentle and patient one is, if he is continuously subjected to slander, humiliation, and attempts to play him off against another, even if the slanders come forth from one who calls himself a friend, one's patience will reach its limit."

The major devil in Peking's phantasy world is what it terms "U. S. imperialism". In its exchanges with the Soviet Union and in its polemics against other governments, parties and leaders around the world the Chinese Communist leadership insists that hostility toward "U. S. imperialism" is the price for Chinese Communist friendship and for gentle words and soothing gestures from Peking. As Chou En-lai put it in Peking on November 29, 1965, "In the present international life, opposition or non-opposition to U. S. imperialism is the main yardstick for testing all political forces in the contemporary world and the main line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchev revisionism." It is doubtful whether ever in history a group of leaders have carried on as protracted and intense a campaign of international and domestic hatred as Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues have carried on against the United

States. It began shortly after the end of World War II and has seldom slackened. Of course, Peking insists in classical Marxist terms that the United States Government does not represent the people but is composed of a small group of monopoly oppressors.

It is impossible to give even a small indication of the wide range of hostility expressed against "U. S. imperialism". It ranges from long discourses on the miserable life of American workers to relatively insignificant caricatures of American life. The conspiratorial hand of "U. S. imperialism" is assumed to be behind everything unfavorable to Peking: the failure of the Afro-Asian Conference in Algeria in 1965 was blamed on the machinations of Washington; the U. S. is responsible for "Indian expansionism" and behind the anti-Communist China demonstrations in Djakarta, says the New China News Agency; and if Peking's agents are expelled from an African country, Mao's government claims that the Africans are in the pay of the CIA. According to Communist China, the movement for Christian unity is a "U. S. imperialist plot," the Peace Corps is a "comprehensive, active force, engaging not only in espionage activities but also in counterrevolutionary propaganda," and the Fulbright Program is proof of "large-scale cultural aggressive activities." A few examples should suffice to give the tenor of the barrage which Peking pours forth every day: (More detailed extracts from Peking's "hate-America" campaign are given in the Selected Documents at the end.)

Premier Chou En-lai in his report to the National People's Congress:

U. S. imperialism has done all the evil things it possibly can. It is the most arrogant aggressor ever known in history, the most ferocious enemy of world peace and the main prop of the forces of reaction in the world. Peoples and nations all over the world that want to make revolution and liberate themselves, all countries and peoples that want to win independence and safeguard their sovereignty and all countries and peoples that want to defend world peace must direct the sharp edge of their struggle against U. S. imperialism.

Peking Review, January 1, 1965

On President Johnson's 1965 State of the Union Address:

Johnson is no philanthropist. His administration, like the past U. S. ones, remains the world's most rabid aggressor, the most vicious enemy of the world's people. Johnson is sharpening his sword as he mouths pious phrases. Nevertheless, his hollow words of peace are taken seriously by some people [Peking's standard reference to the Soviet leadership], who say that they "conform to the wishes of the people of all countries," and hope further that he will transform these words into action. Such ideas will only lead the world's people astray.

People's Daily, January 11, 1965

On the refusal of the International Federation of Weight-Lifters to accept contestants from North Korea and three other countries in November 1965:

The International Federation of Weight-Lifters has made vicious attempts to poison the atmosphere of international sports. It is an instrument used by U. S. imperialism to hamper normal international sports activities. It is constantly engaged in despicable maneuvers to serve the dirty political aims of U. S. imperialism.

People's Daily, November 2, 1965

Critics who argue that U. S. foreign activities have been ineffective probably never dreamed that the United States carried so much weight.

It must be pointed out that for the past few years invective of almost equal intensity has been poured out against the "modern revisionists", that is, the leadership in the Soviet Union, who are asserted to be in an anti-China conspiracy together with the U. S. imperialists.

Naturally, those who read the fulminations from Peking wonder how leaders there could come to believe in such an unreal world. Part of the answer can be learned from people who lived in Japan in the 1930's or in Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia. They have offered a number of reasons for the carnival-mirror type view of the world which comes to be held by the power-holders at the top of such regimes. A few may be listed briefly:

1. Only successes get reported to the top, and because of fear, and insecurity within the bureaucracy, even failures must be presented as successes.

2. Incidents which confirm official dogma are blown up out of all proportion and used to buttress the case that the "world's people" support the leaders.

3. The success of overpowering internal control is projected onto the foreign scene, and the dictators draw the conclusion that outside powers are no match for their discipline.

4. Internal quarrels and power struggles are carried on in terms of who supports the leader most, thus leading the normal flattery which attends autocratic leaders to extremes that have an unbalancing effect upon the top leader himself.

5. Within the structure of authoritarian rule those who know the truth prefer the freedom of silence (if they have that) and dare not utter it. Who after all would dare to tell Mao Tse-tung that he is deranged, that his world view bears no relationship to reality?

6. Each small victory, each successful intimidation of leaders abroad, each visit by a dignitary from a foreign land can only serve to reinforce the aura of infallibility which surrounds the dictator.

These are some of the reasons for the policies and behavior of Peking, but they are merely reflective of the totalitarian pattern of the Mao regime. It is the intense totalitarianism of mainland China which must be understood above all. To that we now turn.

THE TOTALITARIAN PICTURE

Many Sunday newspaper supplements have, over the years, carried an entertainment page on which there are stories, puzzles and games. One game consists of connecting numbered dots or points in such a manner that a picture emerges. It is to be sure not a work of art, but by the time all the points have been connected, there can be no question as to what is depicted. The following numbered points, each illustrated with material from Chinese Communist sources, many buttressed with observations from Peking's erstwhile comrades in the Soviet Union and others with historical reminders, make a picture which is all too clear: Mao's China is modern totalitarianism, fully developed.

1. Absence of legal restraint.

Theoretical equality in the eyes of the law cannot be extended to the toleration on an equal basis of those who scorn the laws on principle or indeed to surrendering the nation's freedom to them on the basis of democratic doctrines Not the individual but the nation as a whole alone can be the center of legislative solicitude."

Hitler, March 23, 1933

The dictatorship of the proletariat is authority unlimited by any statutes whatever. But the dictatorship of the proletariat, creating its own laws, makes use of them, demands that they be observed, and punishes breach of them.

Vyshinsky, The Law of the Soviet State, 1938

One of the clearest indications of autocratic rule and the arbitrary use of power is the contempt for customary or established law and for individual rights. When Mao's regime came to power, it declared void all former "laws, decrees, and judicial systems." Since then there has been no overall codification of Chinese law, and those laws which the Communists have put on the books have been ignored in practice. In some cases, such as in the execution of counterrevolutionaries beginning in 1949, people have been executed under laws which were only passed later.

Perhaps the arbitrary nature of the Mao regime is best indicated by the manner in which it has violated the very Constitution which it enacted in September 1954. The Constitution calls for the convening of a National People's Congress every year, but in 1961 and 1965 no Congresses met. The Constitution provides that the National People's Congress shall pass on the state budget and on national economic plans, but of the Congresses which have met, half have not passed on the budget, and the Second Five-Year Plan was never even presented to the National People's Congress. Nor did the supposed supreme organ of state power ever pass legislation on or approval of the "people's communes." Even the Soviets, who have not necessarily been most punctilious in consideration of a rule of law, have levelled hard criticism against their Chinese comrades for abandonment of "socialist legality."

One of the people who spoke up during the "Hundred Flowers" movement in 1957, Tai Huang, a journalist with the New China News Agency, voiced his concern over Chinese Communist abandonment of legal restraint:

The high ranking cadres violate law and discipline while the lower echelons have little regard for the law. They do not hesitate to perpetrate any evil save manslaughter and arson. . . . the Central Government should be held responsible for all this.

People's Daily, August 7, 1957

Another who spoke up, later to be branded as a "rightist", was Huang Shao-hung, who criticized the arbitrary manner of conduct of the Government, pointing out that the Communist Party treated with contempt the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, which is, when the Congress is not in session, presumably the highest organ of state power:

I always take part in the meetings of the Standing Committee. But attendance is low, barely a legal quorum. The most frequent absences are the Communist Party members. The fact that Party members do not attend this body, the highest authority in the State, gives us to understand that they have no high esteem for it, that all the real decisions have already been taken in advance by the Party: the assent of the Standing Committee seems to be a mere formality.

Kuang-ming Daily, May 17, 1957

2. Extreme Nationalism

We are faced with an openly expansionist program with far-reaching pretensions.

Pravda, September 2, 1964

A common characteristic of the regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo and Stalin was the frenzy of nationalism into which the people were pushed, a nationalism which was linked with expansionism, extreme sensitivity about national symbols and prerogatives, and inordinate pride, a nationalism which constantly called for the ultimate sacrifice for the State ideal. The Japanese ultranationalists were saying in early 1941, "If necessary for the preservation of our State, we are ready to lay down our lives at any moment, for it is the most sacred of all treasures we have in this world." In the late fall of 1965, the Chinese Communist leaders were popularizing an obviously synthetic diary of one Wang Chieh, who they said had given his life for the revolution and for his comrades. In hundreds of editorials the Chinese comrades were called upon to emulate Wang Chieh, and the words were just as full of fanaticism as they were when in 1940 the Japanese press was urging its people to sacrifice for the "emancipation of East Asia." The Peking People's Daily editorialized on November 8, 1965:

True revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists are not afraid of hardships and death, while all pseudorevolutionaries and revisionists are timid people afraid of hardships and death. In a certain sense, revisionists have become what they are simply because they are afraid of hardships and death. Proletarian, revolutionary fighters fear no hardships and death, simply because they are

"doing everything wholeheartedly for the revolution"; they only have the word "revolution" in mind-- China's revolution and the world revolution

With 650 million great people who fear neither hardships nor death, we can certainly surmount all difficulties and defeat all enemies. We shall definitely be able to make still greater contributions to the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, the reactionaries of various countries, and the modern revisionists and to carry China's socialist revolution and the struggle for world revolution through to the end.

Although Peking presents its case in terms of its own willingness to sacrifice for the greater international cause of world Communism, the extent to which ultranationalism lies behind its great power pretensions and world sweeping ambitions has become increasingly clear. This was one of the criticisms which President Bourguiba of Tunisia made and which brought Peking's wrath upon him in 1965. Chinese nationalism has been carried to such extremes under the reign of Mao Tse-tung that it has become a major concern among the top Soviet leaders, whose memories of the extremes of German nationalism are still clear. The Chinese leaders are "blinded by nationalistic arrogance," said Soviet leader Suslov in his secret speech of February 14, 1964, which Pravda subsequently published the following April 3rd. Suslov went on to assert:

In analyzing the sources of the present positions of the Chinese leadership, one cannot fail to see them also in the ever-intensifying, openly nationalistic great-power aspirations that have so powerfully manifested themselves in the foreign policy activity of the Chinese Communist Party leaders

The facts indicate that nationalism is gaining increasing ascendancy in the entire policy of the Chinese leadership and is becoming the mainspring of their actions.

Manifestations of Chinese nationalism and expansionism include irredentism. Soviet leaders have commented both caustically and with apprehension on the maps published by Peking which show areas of Soviet Siberia as well as Mongolia, Burma, Vietnam, Korea, Thailand, Malaya, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim as territories taken away from China by "imperialism". Chinese policies pointing toward autarky -- called "self-reliance" by Peking -- have also drawn criticism from Communist comrades. The Chinese, in a manner reminiscent of the Japanese treatment of their Emperor before World War II, have lodged innumerable diplomatic protests over unseemly treatment of the pictures of Mao Tse-tung or the Chinese Communist flag in foreign lands. Again, the Chinese have gone so far as to remove foreign trademarks from machinery in their land, and on November 13, 1965 the People's Daily renewed an editorial campaign to "Break the Cult of Foreign Technology and Eliminate Inferiority Complex." The editorial noted that "Some young designers, owing to their separation from reality and the masses and a lack of practical experience, also entertain a superstitious belief in foreign books on which they rely and from which they seek design blueprints."

Chinese Communist nationalism is also present in Peking's claims to have the correct path for the underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Chinese Communist leaders assert that their

road to power is the classical path to be followed in these other areas. Peking's top military leader, Lin Piao, in his much-publicized September 1965 article, "Long Live the Victory of the People's War", stated that the Chinese experience was of "universal practical importance" and that the Chinese Communist victory in 1949 opened a new historical period in the "national liberation movement". This meant, in effect, that Soviet leadership in these areas was to be rejected. Mao Tse-tung's statement about the "East Wind prevailing over the West Wind" meant simply Chinese leadership of the forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America against the hated former imperialist countries of the West, and the latter apparently were to include the Soviet Union. Little wonder the Soviet leaders have been willing to reveal to the world some of their experiences with Communist China's intense and dangerous nationalism.

3. A Single, Oversimplified Universalist Doctrine

It is no chance that National Socialism was born in the Great War. For it is nothing else than the penetration of our entire life with the spirit of the true fighter for the people and Reich Only when in all spheres the German people possesses a heroic leadership, only then in its own attitude will it resemble this leadership.

Hitler, June 4, 1939

The victory in the war of resistance against Japan blazed the way for the defeat of strong imperialist powers by the colonial and semicolonial peoples and set a brilliant example of the conquering of the powerful by the weak. It was a victory

for the Marxist-Leninist line of the Chinese Communist Party, a victory for the all-conquering thinking of Mao Tse-tung and a victory for the great idea of people's war.

Peking, Liberation Army Daily, September 1, 1965

The Chinese version of Marxism-Leninism has developed its own oversimplified formulas and its own interpretations of the world. Within the present view of the Peking leadership a dualism of contradictions exists everywhere in the world. On one side are the good, white, thriving, healthy forces of revolution, and on the other are the black, decadent, conspiratorial forces of reaction and revisionism. The good forces are those which accept the truth as expounded by Peking based upon the thought of Mao Tse-tung; all others are by definition and by the inexorable forces of history consigned to oblivion. On the side of the Chinese Communists are the "people of the world", and the only reason why some of the people seem not to support Peking's revolutionary aims is because of oppression or betrayal by their leaders. Peking constantly asserts that the Soviet people, in contrast with the present "Khrushchev revisionists without Khrushchev" support the just and righteous cause of Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by Mao. Its view of the world is similar to that of Germany under Hitler and of Stalinism in its heyday; namely, whoever is not for us is against us.

Perhaps symbolic of the oversimplified approach of the Chinese Communist leadership toward its Marxism is the theory recently expounded in Lin Piao's article on "People's War". Drawing his idea from the

writings of the Indonesian Communist D.N. Aidit, Lin Piao asserted that the Chinese Communist guerrilla technique of using the countryside to surround, isolate, and destroy enemy forces in the cities had global application as a universal truth of Marxism:

Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called "the cities of the world," then Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world". . . . In a sense, the revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African, and Latin American people who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

Little wonder Soviet leader Suslov exclaimed, "The Chinese leaders are characterized first and foremost by their complete disregard for the whole vast diversity of conditions in which the Asian, African and Latin American countries find themselves." Peking's doctrine is more than faintly reminiscent of Hitler's approach to the deterministic German pseudo-science of Geopolitics.

Peking's theory of contradiction is also present in its approach to its phantasy of the embodiment of all evil, "U.S. imperialism". The People's Daily of November 29, 1965 argued that there is an "irreconcilable and deep contradiction between the American Government and the people":

In North America there have always existed two United States: one represented by Morgan, Rockefeller, John Foster Dulles, Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Robert S. McNamara and their like, and the other, by the American people. The

distinction between the two United States becomes clearer and each of them stands more opposed to the other as U.S. imperialism tries harder to extend its policies of aggression and war abroad and of harsher exploitation of the working people and fascistization at home.

Any violence or breach of law and order in connection with the civil rights movement in the United States is hailed by Mao's regime as support for its cause of world revolution. Commenting on the tragic violence in Los Angeles in the summer of 1965, the People's Daily of August 16 proclaimed:

The Negro struggle in Los Angeles and other American cities is a real revolutionary movement. Like the people's revolutionary movement in other lands which is always victorious in the end, the American Negro struggle will eventually be crowned with success. The American Negroes are not fighting alone. The entire anti-U.S. imperialist force of the world is on their side and fighting shoulder to shoulder with them. United with the peoples of the world and struggling together, the American Negroes and the broad masses of the American people will completely defeat U.S. imperialism.

Within China as well as on the world scene, the Chinese Communists insist that the crucial element in the application of Marxism-Leninism is the simple distinction between enemy and friend.

4. Monopoly Party

We demand ruthless war upon all those whose activities are injurious to the common interest.

Program of the Nazi Party, February 24, 1920

We revolutionaries must tighten our grip on our rifles, firmly adhere to the class stand, and forever fight against class enemies. . . . Although these few enemies cannot block our forward march, yet we must heighten our vigilance . . . and be ready at all times to destroy the enemies. . . . We must forever follow the Party and take the socialist road.

"Diary of Wang Chieh," Liberation Army Daily
November 11, 1965

Like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on which it is patterned, the Chinese Communist Party, with more than 17 million members organized in strict hierarchical manner and under strict discipline, runs every aspect of the Chinese Communist state. As the criticisms levelled against the leadership of China during the "Hundred Flowers" campaign of 1957 indicates, in many respects the formal state structure is meaningless. In 1965 Mao Tse-tung held no position of importance in the formal government of the Chinese People's Republic, yet there could be no question that he was still the most important leader in the government. Little noticed in the outside world, the People's Daily of October 12, 1965, revealed that all aspects of hsien (county) administration had been brought under direct Party control. As Party Politburo member Li Fu-ch'un put it, "Our Party is the Party that runs the State."

Within mainland China today, the Communist Party demands supreme loyalty and unwavering obedience from its members. It is this monopoly position which is used to permeate the society, the educational system,

and all aspects of life with the "thought of Mao Tse-tung" and to organize activities in support of the top leadership's simplistic world view. The Chinese Communist Party possesses its own police system, the Social Affairs Department, and its own overseas espionage organization, the Investigation Department. It runs its own courts and frequently subjects people to arrest or execution without reference to the formalities of openly constituted authorities.

As two lengthy articles of criticism published in Pravda, April 28 and 29, 1964, pointed out, the Chinese Communist Party itself is run in a highly arbitrary manner, reminiscent of Stalin's conduct of the CPSU. At the time of the publication of the articles it was pointed out that the Chinese Communist Party had held only two Party Congresses in the preceding thirty-five years, and although the new Party Constitution adopted in 1958 called for a Party Congress every five years, no subsequent Congress has been convened -- a criticism that remains valid today.

5. Personality Cult

In the presence of this blood banner, which represents our Führer, I swear to devote all my energies and my strength to the savior of our country, Adolf Hitler. I am willing and ready to give my life for him, so help me God.

Oath of the Jungvolk (Young Folk) in Nazi Germany

Comrade Wang Chieh said: "I do what Chairman Mao says." Not only all fighters, but all cadres -- including the senior cadres -- should follow his example.

Liberation Army Daily, November 11, 1965

Surely one of the key factors in explaining arbitrary and frequently irrational policies in authoritarian regimes is the manner in which the reigning despot is flattered and catered to. Conceit moves toward megalomania and talent frequently moves toward madness. In China today the cult of personality built around Mao Tse-tung approaches, if not surpasses, the cult of Stalin, which Khrushchev so effectively demolished in 1956, in all the excesses which Khrushchev described. The cult of Mao Tse-tung today involves the rewriting of history and the grossest fabrications. Sometimes what emerges is downright silly, as for example, the following extracts from New Physical Culture magazine of October 20, 1965 show. The article is entitled "Chairman Mao Comes to the Stadium."

On September 11, 1965, when the 2nd National Sports Meeting opened, our sports workers and sportsmen, together with one hundred thousand spectators, saw Chairman Mao in the People's Stadium, Peking:

Chairman Mao! Chairman Mao, whom we think of day and night! We study your works every day and read every sentence you wrote about the truth of revolution. When we see your picture in publications and films, we often say softly in our hearts: "Chairman Mao, how are you?" What we hope most deeply, however, is to see you in person. . . .

At 3 p. m. sharp, five big characters meaning "Long Live Chairman Mao" shown on the electric scoreboard beside the giant clock, and the band struck up the solemn, intimate tune of "The East is Red," as our beloved leader entered the stadium . . . At that instant, innumerable

balloons and doves flew into the sky and flowers were thrown high. The "Long Live Chairman Mao" ovation rocked the sky. Countless pairs of eyes, filled with tears of joy, looked toward the rostrum, and innumerable beating red hearts turned toward Chairman Mao. . . .

The article goes on to cite cases to prove that Mao's presence and study of the "thought of Mao Tse-tung" were the inspiration which brought new records in several fields of sports.

In the past five years increasing attention has been given to studying the works of Mao, which are proclaimed to contain all the necessary inspiration and scientific truth for all fields. Red Flag, the theoretical journal of the Chinese Communist Party published an article on October 1, 1965, entitled "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung Is a Sharp Weapon in Studying Natural Science." Said its author, "I study pure chemistry in a university. Through years of scientific research work, I gradually learned to apply Marxist-Leninist material dialectics and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's philosophical thought." The People's Daily of November 23, 1965 went this one better by discussing the importance of Mao's thought for medical work:

By assiduously studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings, comrades of the burns specialist group of the hospital have reformed their thinking and let their work be guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung. In actual practice they have exerted strenuous efforts to learn and apply materialistic dialectics. After striving for a protracted period, they have gradually increased their knowledge of the law of burns.

Every sentence uttered by Mao in his more than seventy years of life, has, according to the Chinese Communist press, a profound meaning. There is inspiration, reports the Liberation Army Daily of October 13, 1965, in the profound statement by Chairman Mao, "A house should be given a constant scrubbing; otherwise it will be laden with dust. One's face should be given a constant washing; otherwise it will be crusted with dirt." Just as Mein Kampf was hailed as "our infallible pedagogical guiding star" in a German teachers' magazine under Hitler, so today educational materials in mainland China play up the central role of the thought of Mao Tse-tung in education.

All of this would not be anything but ludicrous if it did not also involve the inculcation of Mao's major theses in favor of revolutionary violence and the actions by the regime based upon the Chinese despot's limited knowledge, such as, for instance, in the case of the "people's communes" and the back-yard iron furnaces or in Mao's assessment that nuclear weapons are not, after all, so powerful.

It is small wonder that the present Soviet leadership is extremely concerned about the personality cult built around Mao, for it makes arbitrary and irrational action a much more likely possibility, as the cases of Stalin and Hitler demonstrated ~~only~~ too clearly. In his February 14, 1964 speech, Suslov noted that the Chinese leaders "have taken Stalin's distortions and mistakes under their protection primarily because they themselves are implanting the Mao Tse-tung cult." He pointed out to his Soviet comrades:

The present positions of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee both within the country and in the international arena cannot be understood without reviewing the situation within the Chinese Communist Party and the country which has arisen from the propagation of the personality cult. One cannot be silent about the fact that Mao Tse-tung's personality cult is having a more and more negative influence on the activity of the Chinese Communist Party The ideology and the practice of the personality cult explain to a great extent the appearance of hegemonic plans among the Chinese leaders.

Highest members of the Chinese Communist Party join in the cult of Mao Tse-tung. On November 26, 1965, for example, Lin Piao stated:

What is the best weapon? It is not aircraft, heavy artillery, tanks or the atom bomb. The best weapon is the thought of Mao Tse-tung. What is the greatest fighting power? It is the men who are armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. It is the courage not to fear to die.

Increasingly the cult of Mao Tse-tung serves to reinforce Chinese nationalism and the Chinese bid for leadership of the underdeveloped areas of the world. When Liu Ning-i reported to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on May 5, 1965 on his visit to five African countries, he said, "The African people's profound love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung made a deep and unforgettable impression on us." According to Peking, the cult of Mao has become the universally applicable form of Marxism-Leninism under Chinese leadership in recent years, and the Soviet leaders feel, with some justification that much of Marxism-Leninism and certainly the Soviet leadership of the forces of world Communism have

been forgotten in the process. Perhaps an extreme illustration of the present state of the cult of the leader in China was the People's Daily "Editorial" of November 11, 1965:

Chairman Mao is the red sun of our hearts. The thought of Mao Tse-tung works everywhere and sheds light on every place. The Chinese people fervently love Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. All revolutionary people also love Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung more and more fervently. The enemies of the revolution, the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists tremble and are scared to death whenever Chairman Mao or the thought of Mao Tse-tung is mentioned. They adopt various despicable means to slander and smear the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They cry in horror: "Our lives are every minute influenced by Mao Tse-tung." The greater is the fear of the enemies of the revolution and the more desperate is their opposition, the more they show the wisdom, greatness and correctness of Chairman Mao, and the more they show that the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the sharpest weapon for uniting ourselves and overcoming our enemies, and an unbreakable truth.

Mao Tse-tung, approaching senility, little travelled, China-centered in his view, believing in violence, uneducated in modern science, and undoubtedly influenced by such extremes of a distorted world view which place him at the center of all concern, becomes a danger of major proportions, whether he himself takes action or action is taken in his name by his cult of true-believers.

6. Glorification of War in the Name of Peace

The German people is not bellicose: on the contrary, just because it loves peace, it fights for its right

to live and for those pre-conditions which are essential for the existence of 65 millions.

Hitler, October 22, 1933

We do not fight others. We will never commit aggression against others. However, we must fight imperialism if it fights us. . . . So long as imperialism exists in the world and remains standing, you must not forget to fight for a single day. Without fighting, imperialism will not be overthrown.

Wang Jen-chung, 1st Secy. Hupeh Provincial
Chinese Communist Party
Committee, November 16,
1965

A major aspect of the Chinese Communist regime, which has troubled even its friends and apologists, is Peking's belief in the efficacy of violence. Mao Tse-tung is essentially a theorist of military activism and his works which are now being committed to memory everywhere on the China mainland as infallible guides to success, argue in favor of violence, that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Mao's thesis that "The seizure of power by armed force, the solving of problems by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution," is repeated incessantly for the Chinese populace who, in 1965 were going through a nationwide movement to "Learn from the People's Liberation Army."

The long article "Long Live the Victory of the People's War," by Lin Piao, published on September 2, 1965 to commemorate the victory over Japan in World War II, and a companion article by Lo Jui-ching, Chief of General Staff of the People's Liberation Army, which said, "We

should study his [Lin's] article seriously, " allowed the world little doubt about the Chinese Communist commitment to revolutionary violence in the underdeveloped areas of the world--the "rural areas" according to Lin. The Chinese Communists view the sacrifices of lives in warfare as necessary, probably desirable, for the overall cause, including apparently the lives of other peoples. The people in Vietnam could probably draw little comfort from Lin Piao's observation:

We know that war brings destruction, sacrifice, and suffering on the people. But the destruction, sacrifice, and suffering will be much greater if no resistance is offered to imperialist armed aggression and the people become willing slaves. The sacrifice of a small number of people in revolutionary wars is repaid by security for whole nations, whole countries and even the whole of mankind; temporary suffering is repaid by lasting or even perpetual peace and happiness. War can temper the people and push history forward. In this sense, war is a great school.

Peking's attitude toward war, derived in large part from the cult of Mao Tse-tung and his belief that "violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution," has caused grave misgivings among other Communists, many of whom have not necessarily shrunk from violence. This is true especially because of the Chinese Communist view of potential nuclear war -- perhaps best symbolized by Mao's dictum that "the atomic bomb is a paper tiger," and by Peking's forecast that following general nuclear war, "the victorious peoples will create on the ruins of dead imperialism a future that is a thousand times more beautiful."

The whole of mainland China is being prepared today for the desirability of war, taught that "there is no other way out," and led to believe that the "people of the world" want revolution, Chinese-style. The Chinese are told that they need not fear the great power of the United States or the other "imperialist" powers. The People's Daily told them on November 19, 1965, "The miserable thing about the U.S. aggressors is that they have suffered repeated defeats but they fail to understand why a people's war has an invincible power." The article goes on to say:

This is the moral atom bomb. It is more important and more powerful than the material atom bomb. The moral atom bomb is the exclusive possession of the people's war. No imperialists or reactionaries can possess it.

7. Military Buildup

The National Socialist State has taken upon itself very heavy sacrifices in the cause of European Peace -- very heavy national sacrifices. . . . on 28 May I took very serious measures: 1. the increases already announced both of the army and the air force were on my orders extraordinarily extended and forthwith put into execution and carried out. 2. I ordered the immediate completion of our line of fortifications in the West. . . . I made this mightiest effort of all times in the service of peace.

Hitler, September 12, 1938

This latest success has been acclaimed as a great inspiration to the world's revolutionary people, a fresh blow to U.S. nuclear blackmail, and a contribution to the safeguarding of world peace.

Peking Review, May 21, 1965--on the occasion of Communist China's second atomic explosion.

In line with Mao's belief in the desirability of violence, mainland China under Communist control has devoted major resources to building military power. As was the case in Stalinist Russia, other aspects of the economy have had to take a back seat to the demands of a military establishment. Nowhere has this been clearer than in Peking's commitment to nuclear power status at the expense of the Chinese peasant who has hardly been in position to afford such an expensive and sophisticated military weapons system. In a revision of the industrial ministries of the government in 1965, the Chinese Communists formed eight ministries of machine building. Five of these eight are represented in the National Defense Council, an indication of the extent to which military planning is related to economic planning under the Communists.

More important, perhaps, has been the constant emphasis on a buildup of militia and reserves, and the "Learn from the People's Liberation Army" movement. These indicate that, given the Chinese approach to "people's war", military considerations will continue to dominate the thinking and planning on the China mainland.

3. Vituperation

Inquiries of British politicians concerning the fate of Germans within the frontiers of the Reich, or of others belonging to the Reich, are not in place.

Hitler, October 9, 1933

China will not permit any interference in its Tibet region by any foreign power or international organization. . . . By discussing the "Tibet question," the United Nations not only demonstrates its hostility to the Chinese people but also openly repudiates its own Charter.

Peking Review, October 3, 1965

Those who have lived through the days of Hitler and Stalin know that totalitarian governments use a language all of their own, and they reject immediately any consideration by outside powers of their policies and usually do so in blunt and impolite terms. In fact, Communist China operates today under a doctrine which might be called "The Utility of Hostility." By its uncompromisingly hostile stand against "U.S. imperialism" it reinforces its image as a great power and intimidates the lesser powers or those who are weak of heart from uttering words which Peking might deem hostile or giving comfort to "the enemy." This pose, which does not hesitate to break into abuse and profanity at the slightest provocation, has frequently made countries attempting to follow a neutral path hesitant about criticising Mao's regime. The type of abuse which Peking has showered on the "Khrushchev revisionists," has not caused too much surprise in Moscow, for it has been a standard feature of Soviet totalitarian methods too, but Peking's abuse has come as a shock to some of the more gentle Indian leaders who have tried in the past to placate Communist China. Peking levelled a typical blast at New Delhi over Indian support for the discussion of Tibet by the United Nations in 1965. Said the People's Daily:

But this time, India voted for it and Indian Prime Minister Shastri proclaimed that India supported the discussion of the question at the United Nations. This not only thoroughly revealed the ugly features of the Indian expansionists, but also exposed the fact that the Indian reactionaries are mere pawns of U.S. imperialism.

Don't be so arrogant, you Indian reactionaries. Don't think that you can do what you please with the backing of the United States and the United Nations which is under U.S. control. No resolutions passed by the United Nations can cover up your despicable subversive activities against China's territory of Tibet.

Linked to China's use of vituperation is the frequent display of plain bad manners. Of course, Hitler and Stalin gave the world some examples and the Japanese militarists proved unconscionably bad mannered at times. But Communist China, as a method of showing its haughty disdain for all of whom it disapproves, seems desirous of outdoing them. In June 1965, when the British Government tried for a second time to form a peace mission to visit Peking and attempt to find a way out of the impasse over the war in Vietnam, Mao's government treated the move with rude contempt. Said the People's Daily of June 22, 1965:

China has already shut the door in Gordon-Walkers's face. If the Wilson government wants to have another try with this "mission," all that awaits it is another slamming of the door. Our door is always wide open to those friends from all countries who oppose U.S. imperialist aggression, support the Vietnamese people's struggle and defend peace in Asia and the world. As for the political brokers who, in support of U.S. imperialist armed aggression, are peddling the U.S. peace talk swindle, it is right and not difficult for us to refuse them.

9. Technique of the "Great Lie"

Peking radio in its political clowning has been acting like it has copied the methods that were used by Nazi Germany, namely propaganda with the theme that lies, however big they are, if they are poured out continuously, will ultimately become reality.

Berita Yudha, Djakarta, December 4,
1965

It is not surprising that the Chinese Communist regime should be accused of using Hitler's technique of the "great lie," although no one would have thought in the beginning of 1965 that by the end of the year the charge would come from the capital of Indonesia. Actually, Peking has operated, as Moscow has since the days of Lenin, on a number of principles which taken together can be called the technique of the "great lie." Among these are: 1. make it big enough and people will believe part of it; 2. repeat it often enough and you will convince some people; 3. say it in enough different ways, and you will convince others, and 4. accuse others of what you intend to do in the first place. Peking believes that people will fall for the old adage that "Where there's smoke there must be fire," and beginning long before the Chinese Communist Party came to power, a great number of truths have been hidden by smokescreens of falsehood which had no fire whatsoever connected with them.

It is this basic factor of dishonesty which helps to put totalitarian regimes in a special class. Of course some of the lack of truth comes from the unreal world of doctrinaire beliefs within which the totalitarians

move, but much is cynical fabrication. Peking has built up a whole series of fictions over the past years which the leaders cannot but know are sheer fabrication. These would include such items as 1. the charge that North Korea was invaded by South Korean troops on June 25, 1950; 2. the accusation that the United States used germ warfare in Korea and Manchuria during the Korean war; 3. the assertion that the Chinese people "demanded" the formation of people's communes in 1958; 4. the charge that the Indians had kidnaped the Dalai Lama in 1959; or 5. the accusation that the United Nations had murdered Congolese leader Lumumba in 1961. On September 18, 1965, an official Chinese Communist Government statement once again accused the United States of using germ warfare -- this time in Vietnam. As the world was to find out in the case of Hitler, it is difficult to accommodate to or appease a regime which devotes its full energies to living a great lie.

In January 1961, while hailing Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations, Peking listed for its people and for foreign readers "facts" to prove that the "United Nations, used by the United States as a tool of aggression in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere, has been replete with evil doings and crimes." Two samples of the more than dozen listed give an idea of the flavor:

Aggression Against Korea. On June 25, 1950, the United States directed the Syngman Rhee puppet troops of south Korea to mount a full-scale attack on the Korean Democratic People's Republic, and, at the same time, forced the U.N. Security Council

to adopt an illegal resolution charging the Korean Democratic People's Republic with "armed incursion" into south Korea. . . .

Interference in Hungary's Internal Affairs, Refusing to admit defeat when the Hungarian people smashed the U.S. -engineered counter-revolution in October 1956, the United States manipulated the U.N. General Assembly so that it adopted a series of resolutions interfering in the internal affairs of Hungary.

These two particular falsehoods the Communist leaders in the Soviet Union still share, but Moscow has not hesitated to catch Peking up on a number of others. For instance, CPSU leaders have made it abundantly clear that they share the views of Western experts that the economic chaos and misery in China from 1959 through 1961 were not so much occasioned by natural calamities as by the insanity of Mao's policies of the "great leap forward" and the "people's communes" which Peking adopted in 1958 and still heralds as unprecedentedly successful.

Part of the technique of the big lie is clearly associated with the cult of personality and the need to maintain the infallibility of the great leader. In Communist China's case this has approached the proportions of mania.

10. Monopoly of Communications.

Our Press has become a mighty instrument in the service of our people's self-preservation and contributes to the strengthening of the nation.

Hitler, January 30, 1937

As Hitler was to prove to the world, literacy, a modern system of communications and wide spread education can prove just as powerful a support for dictatorship as for democracy. Modern totalitarianism has a powerful weapon in its hands through monopolizing mass communications. In China today, as in the Soviet Union, the regime controls all communication extending beyond the intimate group, and even the intimate group, including the family, is frequently not immune. The press, radio and motion pictures are regarded as "powerful weapons of the Party in the class struggle." They are closely supervised and contents always screened. There is only one official news agency in China, the New China News Agency, and the Chinese Communist Party controls it as well as the newspapers and publishing houses. This has led to a dread, dull uniformity in the press. The literate Chinese finds the same phrases and clichés repeated ad nauseum.

All is in support of the Chinese Communist Party, its particular drive or stand at a given moment, and particularly the love of the new Chinese god, Chairman Mao. The language in the press and in other media allows no doubt of the intensity of the wrath of the regime for anyone who steps beyond limits in criticism. Perhaps this is why the three major Peking dailies reported such an item as the following on November 11, 1965, indicating the enthusiasm of young people for their work:

A 28-year-old woman Fang Wen-chuan, who is a petroleum engineer, wrote: "For the past ten years I have been out in the wilds building oilfields, moving from one part of the country to another. When it was announced that 'China is no longer dependent on foreign oil!', tears came to my eyes and I felt the great happiness."

There are water closets in the new buildings put up Peking in the post-liberation period, but night soil collecting is still necessary for the old houses without modern facilities. The young Peking model worker Chi Chen-kang is a night soil collector. He wrote: "Our work is also an indispensable part of the revolution. We keep the city clean, the people healthy, and supply the countryside with manure, all for the purpose of building a strong, socialist China which is a powerful support for the world revolution. With this in mind, I take pride in my task."

Airfield maintenance worker Ma Chun-sheng wrote: "My job is with the broom. Every day we sweep the long runway from one end to the other. I would not leave a single pebble behind, for safe flying and landing of our planes are involved. With every stroke of my broom I clear away an obstacle in the path of revolution and strike at U.S. imperialism."

The monopoly of communications in mainland China buttresses every campaign of the regime, and, from the point of view of the leadership, education and the arts fall within the field of necessary monolithic control. School texts are edited to give emphasis to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the necessary guidance of the general line of the Party in all fields. When Suslov complained that "An enormous propaganda apparatus is now engaged chiefly in preparing materials aimed at smearing the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union

itself, " he knew whereof he spoke. In China, as in the Soviet Union, there is no balance of diversity or alternate points of view. The single point of view being pushed in all the communications media and educational institutions of Communist China today is China's great destiny as world revolutionary leader. As the Canton Yang-Ch'eng Evening News put it on November 16, 1965:

Comrade Mao Tse-tung requires us revolutionaries not only to serve the revolution of the Chinese people and carry the Chinese revolution to the end, but also to serve the liberation of the people of the whole world and carry to the end of the revolution of the people in the world.

11. Secrecy.

[There is] undue emphasis laid upon security. . . . sometimes even figures concerning national finance, which can easily be ascertained from public reports of leaders of the Government, become something nobody dares to divulge. Hence, we often find ourselves in the dark about things which have become common knowledge in capitalist countries.

"A Rightist" during the "Hundred Flowers" Movement, People's Daily, October 17, 1957

Despots live in distrust of their own people and of outsiders, and a sense of insecurity pervades their regimes. Secrecy therefore, becomes a fetish as they try to outwit imaginary forces and deny information to internal and external "enemies". Mao Tse-tung and the top leaders of the Communist regime in Peking have indicated the highly arbitrary nature of their rule by the intensity of the secrecy with which they

surround it. As was especially the case in Stalinist Russia, the personal whereabouts of the Chinese leaders is a state secret, and they are whisked about in curtained cars. They give audiences at arbitrary and frequently inconvenient hours, and their private lives are shrouded in mystery. Speculation about such items is taboo.

In June 1951, the Chinese Communists published two sets of regulations regarding the safeguarding of "State Secret". The first, on June 1, listed 17 major categories for secrecy, including finance, trade, and economic planning, for which all organs of the government were to be responsible. The second set, on June 3, laid down the requirements for the people to report on any suspicious actions, thus linking the pressure for secrecy to a system of internal informing. As the cult of personality developed and as Communist China intensified its nationalism and determination for leadership of the "rural areas" of the world, Peking's obsession with secrecy grew. Since 1959, no statistics on production or trade at the national level have been released. Perhaps even more important, all sessions of the National People's Congress since 1959 have been held in absolute secrecy and even representatives from those Communist Parties which support Peking in its struggle against Moscow have been excluded. Chinese Communist Party meetings are held in tightest secrecy, and the decisions, including the purging of those who have fallen from favor, are only announced later--sometimes much later.

Within Communist China today there is an elaborate system for regulating and classifying all documents within the government. Some information goes only to provincial Party leaders; some extends only to hsien (county) Party headquarters. On October 14, 1962, Peking issued the following warning to Party members:

Some comrades, in order to satisfy their curiosity, like to find out things they are not supposed to know. Such a practice is incompatible with security requirements. Steps must be taken to limit the dissemination of state secrets, because the greater the number of people who know about them, the greater the possibility of leakage. We must treasure the interest of the Party and State and do away with this bad habit of finding out about things we are not supposed to know. Some people are not security-conscious enough; they are frequently discussing state secrets in public places. This practice must be rooted out forthwith.

12. Terror

The Party members are secret agents, and they are worse than the Japanese agents during the occupation period.

A "Rightist" who spoke against the Communists during the "Hundred Flowers" campaign, quoted by the People's Daily, June 30, 1957

Striking at counterrevolutionaries and other major criminal offenders is the most acute class struggle. They must be hit hard, hit accurately, hit in time. One cannot rely on specialized agencies alone; the masses must be mobilized.

People's Daily, January 1, 1965

Communist China is a police state. Major internal surveillance is carried on through a system of required reporting and mutual supervision. During the early years of Mao's rule, before the widespread organizations for social persuasion were established, the "counterrevolutionaries" were physically eliminated in such a manner as to leave no doubt in the minds of the populace that the Communists could and would act ruthlessly. The regime has, however, in recent years relied on social pressure. Refugees report that this is in a way far more terrifying than more overt forms of threat.

Information about the actual administration of the internal secret police operated from Party headquarters is, to be sure, scanty, but the testimony of the "Rightists" in 1957, of refugees since then, and of Soviet comrades allows no doubt that terror as an instrument of progress and control is part and parcel of the Chinese Communist state. All foreigners are closely watched, and Chinese are cautious about their contacts with them. As Suslov indicated in his 1964 speech, with the deterioration of relations between the Soviet Union and Communist China after 1960, even Soviet advisers were not immune from secret police activities. He pointed out, "Surveillance of Soviet people increased, and searches of their personal belongings and so on became quite frequent."

Probably the most somber evidence of probing and lack of privacy in mainland China today is given in the numerous newspaper articles

written by children or husbands or wives explaining how they have helped the Party bring "reform" within the home. For example, the Peking Ta Kung Pao on September 14, 1965 carried a story by a wife, entitled "I Give Resolute Support to My Husband in Making Revolution." She explains how the Party cadre came to her house and helped her solve problems with her husband by inspiring her to study the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Only a few visits by the Party comrade were necessary to convince her that "In making revolution, you can't work merely for money." The companion article written by the husband bore the eloquent title, "I Have Become Sober."

13. Total Economic Control

The Labour Service represents an entirely new and purely Nationalist Socialist departure.

Hitler, February 20, 1938

By taking part in physical labor, the educated youngsters have not only "changed the face of mountains and plains" but also their own thinking. . . . They gladly face the tests of difficulties, fatigue, hardships and the "dirty work" of shifting muck or manure.

Peking Review, July 16, 1965

In Communist China all factors of production, including labor, are directly controlled and allocated by the top leadership. The monopoly over production and distribution in the economy increases the power of the central authority and helps it to maintain control. Peking is in a

position to impose severe sanctions and deprivations on those who do not measure up to its demands. A system of forced labor, called "Reform through Labor Service," has been a feature of Communist rule from the outset. Mainland China maintains a system of rationing, price control, and strict currency control. Its currency is not traded on the world market nor are there any unofficial trade relations with Communist China. The control of the economy can be and is used to support the foreign and domestic policies of the top leadership.

Perhaps no item demonstrated the implications of total economic control in Communist China as vividly as the frenetic "Great Leap Forward" which Mao and his colleagues launched in 1958. The back-yard iron furnaces and the organization of the people's communes connected with it wrought havoc with the Chinese economy and brought untold suffering to the Chinese people. In one mammoth effort the Chinese Communist leaders demonstrated to their people and to the world, not alone their ability at internal control, but the extremes to which their fanaticism and dogmatism had already gone. The Soviets, whose economic performance, particularly in agriculture, was hardly a model of success, commented at length on the irrationality of the plans, which the Chinese leaders announced in 1958, to increase industrial production by 550 per cent and agricultural production by 150 per cent in five years. Suslov's February 14, 1964 summary was:

These plans were drawn up without any kind of economic foundation, without taking the country's real possibilities into account. The people's communes that were set up in the countryside were supposed to ensure the "leap to communism" in three or four, or perhaps five to six years.

The results of these experiments are generally known. The economy of the Chinese People's Republic was thrown back several years. The course of the "three red banners" led to serious disorganization of the entire national economy and a sharp slowdown in the rates of industrialization and was reflected in the material situation of the people.

Mao Tse-tung seemed determined to outdo the irrationalities of the Stalin period in collectivization and economic centralization, to use mass human power as thrust to push the Chinese rocket into the space age.

14. Organization and Social Pulverization

There was a mobilization of human forces of such vast range that hardly can anyone before our day have even dreamed of its like. Beginning with bands of our youth in its millions and extending to the gigantic community of workers with head and hand united in a single Front, the Revolution bears its witness to the skill and the labour which the National Socialists have spent on their organizations.

Hitler, January 30, 1933

Today in the era of Mao Tse-tung, heaven is here on earth. Once the Party calls, tens of millions of the masses jump into motion. Chairman Mao is a great prophet. Through scientific Marxism-Leninism he can see the future. Each prophecy of Chairman Mao has become a reality. It was so in the past; it is so today.

People's Daily, October 1, 1958

To many visitors who have travelled in Communist China, the single most impressive feature of the regime is its ability to organize the people. The Chinese Communists have attacked the problem of potential resistance by organizing everyone in the country into a vast complex of interrelated groups, which bring practically every human social activity within the framework of official concern. The small, mutually responsible study groups, where members "aid" each other to become better students of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to "make revolution", extend from the grade school through the whole educational establishment and from the work team in the people's commune to the directors of a great industrial enterprise.

The many "people's organizations" in mainland China have hierarchical organization with roots extending into the farthest corners of the vast country. There is a people's organization for practically every form of human activity. The 1964 People's Handbook, for example, lists 136 national "people's organizations" which bring into central political concern and control of the regime such diverse activities as music, Chinese opera, chemistry, literature, sports, electricity, handicrafts, Buddhism and Christianity, and cultural relations with foreign countries. All of these organizations are capable of calling the Chinese masses into action when a campaign begins or a demonstration is called for. Privacy and social activities based upon individual initiative have been organized out of existence.

The power and importance of Communist China's mass organizations are demonstrated in the constant vast demonstrations staged in support of policies. These range from the mammoth parades in major cities on such festival occasions as the anniversary of the regime every October 1 to frenetic denunciations of specific policies of "U.S. imperialism." The People's Daily on May 20, 1965, for instance, reported that in the preceding week (May 12-19) more than 33 million people participated in demonstrations against "U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression in the Dominican Republic." It is probably safe to assume that at least some of those who participated did not know where or what the Dominican Republic was, but the estimate of the numbers involved may well have been accurate.

Some idea of the efforts which the Chinese Communists channel into their great displays of organizational power over the Chinese masses is indicated in the fact that between January 1 and December 27, 1965, the People's Daily reported 214 instances of large-scale demonstrations in the capital city. Such displays serve a number of purposes: 1. They prove to the individual Chinese his impotence against the organizational power of the regime. 2. They bolster the confidence of the leaders and the cadres. 3. They help, just as surely as Hitler's Neuremberg rallies did for Nazi Germany, to impress and intimidate visitors and observers from outside. 4. They give the leaders and participants of

the organizations involved a vested interest in support of the policies of the Communist regime, if only because of the amount of time and effort involved in practices and preparation of banners and other gadgetry in which each of the organizations attempts to outdo the others in emulation campaigns.

Of singular importance is the relationship of the mass organizations to the present Chinese Communist emphasis on military preparedness. During 1965, in addition to the "Learn from the People's Liberation Army" movement which was carried out in all sections of the country, great emphasis was placed upon defense sports, linking the whole athletic program in mainland China to military goals and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. (Of more than passing interest was an editorial in the People's Daily of November 29, 1965, which asserted that Chinese players attributed their position as the world's table tennis champions to the fact that they were guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung). In 1935, Adolf Hitler linked sports activities in Nazi Germany to a militarization of the whole German people; on February 15 that year he declared that the Sport-Badge was "the means for a combative schooling of the body and for the cultivation of the military spirit in all sections of the people." Just exactly thirty years later, Chinese Communist leaders were placing the same emphasis on "National Defense Sports" in their drive for military preparedness. Said the People's Daily of September 22, 1965:

The principal task of national defense sports is to conduct class education among the masses of the people, to educate them in revolutionary traditions and patriotism and to train them in military techniques, so as to enable the broad masses to learn the skills of defending the motherland and to strengthen the armed force of the people of our country. . . . We must raise high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, mobilize the greater masses of the people to participate in the activities of national defense sports, and enable the people of our country, who are highly conscious politically, to learn to shoot and fight, to climb mountains and to swim across rivers, so that they may drown any invading enemy in the sea of people's war.

15. World Mission

As for revolutionary wars waged by the oppressed nations and peoples, far from opposing them, we invariably give them firm support and active aid. It has been so in the past, it remains so in the present and, when we grow in strength as time goes on, we will give them still more support and aid in the future.

Lin Piao, "Long Live the Victory of People's War"

The above quotation is perhaps as important as any that has been given, for it indicates one of the key item which distinguishes Mao's regime from some despotisms of bygone ages. As Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, one of the leading students of modern totalitarianism has pointed out, a key feature of totalitarian regimes is this factor of revolutionary dynamism. Ideology and institutions are fused together and develop in support of universalist goals. Totalitarians are not defenders of the status quo.

Communist China is a revisionist power, seeking to extend its sway in areas around its borders which the Chinese dynasties of former times claimed. But, far more dangerous for the world, Mao Tse-tung's China is also a revolutionary power, seeking to export the formulas for what it calls people's wars to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It was this fact which led President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast to express deep concern over Chinese policies for training terrorists "to assassinate those whose eyes were open to the Chinese danger and put in their place servile men who would open the gates of Africa to China." (Le Monde, January 26, 1965). It was Peking's implied support for the "September 30 Movement" and support for the Indonesian Communist Party in its first official comment on the crisis in Indonesia October 19, which led to sharp reaction and in part to some of the tragic violence against Chinese nationals in that troubled country.

By their very revolutionary nature totalitarian regimes cannot and do not recognize the requirements for law and order implicit in international bodies. At the time Hitler announced Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933, he observed that it had "no future if it continues to represent the interests of a certain group of States as opposed to the interests of other States." Five years later, in an extended denunciation of the League, February 20, 1933, der Führer said:

We do not intend in the future to allow an attitude to be prescribed for us by any international institution which refuses officially to recognize indisputable facts and thus in its actions resembles less the conduct of a responsible human being and more that of a well-known large bird. Since the League of Nations is itself obviously incapable of understanding historical or economic necessities and of fulfilling the demands based on them, and since on the other hand the essential interests of nations are in the long run stronger than formal considerations, a peculiar situation would arise if it were to continue for a hundred years.

The words and reasoning are almost identical to those which came from Peking at the time Indonesia announced its withdrawal from the United Nations at the beginning of 1965. At that time Chinese Communist Premier Chou En-lai announced (January 24):

In these circumstances, another United Nations, a revolutionary one, may well be set up so that rival dramas may be staged in competition with that body which calls itself the United Nations but which is under the manipulation of U.S. imperialism and therefore can only make mischief and do nothing good.

Two weeks earlier the People's Daily had opined that the United Nations had:

degenerated into a dirty Stock Exchange of international politics in the grip of a few big Powers, and the sovereignty of other countries, particularly that of the small countries, is often bought and sold.

Like Nazi Germany's position on the League of Nations, Communist China has made clear its position that the United Nations must accept China's conditions if Mao's regime is to join that body -- even if voted in. One of the first conditions, in addition to the ouster of the Republic of China,

as Peking has made clear, would be the reversal of the United Nations' judgment on Korea. Said the People's Daily on September 12, 1965, "This is one of the series of grave mistakes the United Nations has committed. It must be thoroughly corrected and no bargaining can be tolerated."

The sense of world revolutionary mission of Mao Tse-tung's China is capsuled in the demands it makes for the reform of the United Nations. In effect, Communist China demands that the rest of the world should live its lies and accept its phantasies -- such as that the United States "puppet forces" launched a war of aggression in Korea on June 25, 1950-- so that the Peking ideologues might maintain their infallibility.

VI

THE DANGERS

Communist China displays additional characteristics which other totalitarian regimes have had and which deserve at least passing mention because they also highlight the dangers which confront the outside world and because they indicate that while there is a uniformity in many aspects of totalitarianism, there is still room for diversity. The Soviet leaders, as well as several leaders in Africa and Western Europe, have with justification deplored Peking's racism and attempts to unite the colored peoples of the world against the white man. Again, there is the attempt in Communist China to control all forms of cultural and artistic expression, reminiscent of the worst phases of the "socialist realism" period under Stalin. Further, there is the guided tour treatment for foreign visitors and the training of foreign nationals in the revolutionary warfare academies in mainland China. Finally, it is probably important to note the manner in which foreign trade, international organizations, private associations, massive propaganda, blandishment and military action are all employed in concerted support of Peking's revolutionary foreign policies. There are no unofficial relations between mainland Chinese and foreigners today.

A composite of all such features makes abundantly clear that the China danger is of major proportions on the world scene, doubly so because the doctrines and leaders of mainland China belong to a pre-atomic era. This very central danger of totalitarian China raises yet in turn other dangers for the outside world, and a few of these must be listed.

The Danger of Misunderstanding. Perhaps because of the effectiveness of the propaganda efforts of which they are capable, totalitarians are frequently successful in persuading outsiders that their cause is just and their mission peaceable. Democratic societies are geared to giving attention to alternate points of view and to trying to understand the position of the opponent. Thus the totalitarians can always count on some spokesmen and supporters, and certainly some apologists, in the countries which by their definition are their enemies. Then too, the totalitarians can trade on the politics of arithmetic in their voting process to disarm critics in the democratic countries. After all, Hitler's annexation of Austria was approved by better than 99 per cent of the voters in 1938. Democratic predispositions also persuade the opponents that totalitarians must have the support of their people. There is a general tendency to project democratic faith to the conclusion that no regime will last long without the support of the people--a belief which is disputed by the long course of history. For such reasons and many others there is a very great possibility for underestimating the threat from totalitarian states and for not believing that their leaders really mean what they say when they proclaim their policies and aims clearly. Few bothered to read or believe Mein Kampf, and probably even fewer will follow Secretary of State Dean Rusk's advice and read Lin Piao's "Long Live the Victory of the People's War." Then, too, those who did read Mein Kampf could not bring themselves to believe that Hitler meant what he said, and today those who read Mao

Tse-tung and Lin Piao tend to discount Peking's commitment to world revolutionary violence.

This is in part what might be called The Danger of Assuming Rationality. Most of us tend to project onto the rest of the world the same norms of rationality within which we operate. This can lead us often to wishful thinking. Yet, within the framework of their own ideology, the totalitarians are frequently rational. Once the Nazi doctrines of social Darwinism were accepted, the horrors of their extermination camps made some sense to their fanatical followers. Once Mao's interpretation of Lenin's theory of imperialism is accepted, his strategy of encircling North America and Europe by uniting the "rural areas of the world" in a great global battle seems reasonable to other Chinese Communist leaders.

But Peking's bid for global Communist leadership creates yet an even greater danger, The Danger of Communist Rivalry. As statements from the current Soviet leadership make abundantly clear, they have not renounced their own goals for a Communist world. Communist China's bid for leadership of the Communist movement only tends to intensify the efforts of Moscow as each Communist capital seeks to prove that its version of Marxism-Leninism is more valid. Unwittingly the Soviets are pushed into unintended fields of activity and new geographical areas and in the process the non-Communist world is confronted with a wider spectrum of tactics employed against it in far more areas of the globe at

the same time. The Chinese Communist charges against the Soviet Union in turn tend to limit the possibilities for loosening up totalitarian controls there or for increasing accommodation with the West--possibilities which have been clearly apparent since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Further, it must be noted that the great ideological debate between Peking and Moscow has served to restore some attraction to Communist doctrine. Arguments, even among non-Marxists in the United States, are frequently couched in terms of which Communist power is right rather than in terms of which Communist power is more divorced from the real world in its ideological commitment.

The rivalry between Moscow and Peking also raises The Danger of Concessions. Some spokesmen have already suggested making concessions to and compromises with the new Soviet leadership in order to help them in their battle against their presently more fanatical comrades in Peking, but this would only be helping Moscow demonstrate to the world that it has the most successful burial formulas for the West. The intransigence of the current Chinese Communist leadership has also led to numerous pressures on the American scene for concessions to Peking--in Vietnam and elsewhere. The structure and nature of totalitarian regimes makes it unlikely that compromises or any sort of minor concessions can do more than whet the growing appetite of the rulers. As India learned much to her sorrow, totalitarian China can neither be appeased nor placated. The ideals of the "five principles of peaceful coexistence" or panch shila"

which the two governments included in a treaty were, like the treaty itself, empty words for Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. During the year 1965, Peking's behavior offered convincing proof that every plea for peace or detente from the United Nations, from neutrals, from the Soviet Union or from the West was regarded by the top leadership as further proof of the weakness of the petitioners and the strength of the Chinese Communist cause. In such a condition each small concession offered or each earnest appeal made only served to raise Peking's price.

But what if the Chinese Communists were to turn reasonable. Herein lies an additional risk, The Danger of Confusing Tactics and Strategy. Knowledgable authorities on the Soviet Union argued that Stalin was never more dangerous than when he was talking the soft line of "peaceful co-existence". (The phrase was not, as some people believe, Khrushchev's.) Were Peking suddenly to agree to renounce the use of force in the Taiwan Straits and agree to international peacekeeping in that area and at the same time announce that it would no longer lend support to subversion or "wars of national liberation" since most of the areas of the world are already independent and in addition it would like to work in peace and harmony with the rest of the world within the framework of the United Nations whose good judgment it would accept on the problem of Chinese Communist representation---if such an approach were to be adopted by Mao's regime, it is probably not rash to predict that the representatives of Peking would

be seated in the United Nations in record time and possibly even the staunchest critics would be beating a path to Mao Tse-tung's throne to proclaim that they knew all along that the Communist regime was the best for China.

Yet, given the nature of the political system in mainland China, such a series of moves could be little more than a shift in tactics, the type of shift which both Lenin and Mao Tse-tung have stated in their writings is desirable to obtain the ultimate victory. Thus, this possibility which seems most remote at the present time, could actually prove to be one of the greatest dangers which totalitarian China can present. After all, as Winston Churchill pointed out and documented only too ably, the moment Hitler on several occasions uttered words of peace and reasonableness, the most sophisticated newspaper, The Times of London, was ready to jump immediately for the bait. Those who begin to find words of peace and reasonableness in Peking's approach in the future must be able to assure themselves and others that more than a mere tactic is involved. And as long as mainland China remains under its present intense form of totalitarianism, as long as the totalitarian structure persists, it is doubtful whether peace can be more than a tactical move in a larger strategy for Communist victory.

Perhaps the most distressing aspects of the present course of the regime of Mao Tse-tung is The Danger of Irrationality. Mao Tse-tung has already demonstrated that he is capable of actions and projects related

to the mobilization of the Chinese masses which bear little relationship to the real world. In some respects the words and actions of Peking remind the observer of the scene in East Asia of Tokyo's behavior during the most intensely fanatical displays of belief in Japan's divine mission. In its assessment of the real world and of American reaction, Japan's attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, was a tragically irrational action. Communist China is in its present stage of the cult of Mao and the accompanying belief in people's war just as capable of such tragic irrationality--certainly Peking's assessment of the danger of nuclear war is proof of that.

The very much greater possibility of irrational action on the part of Peking raises a final grave consideration, The Danger of the Simple Answer. Policy makers, particularly in the United States which must bear the major burden of the non-Communist world's confrontation with Totalitarian China, must be doubly careful. Minor concessions might suddenly stimulate exorbitant additional demands from Peking or perhaps could temporarily placate Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues. On the other hand overt military acts could push the Chinese Communists into further military commitment. There are no easy or simple answers, and yet all of us must continue to seek a way to break the people out of the hold of the totalitarian despotism which holds them in its grasp, to make a government in mainland China understand that it must adjust to the rest of the world and not vice versa. If achieving this adjustment requires

that the present leadership and policies of Peking must go, then this fact must be faced just as resolutely as the world determined that Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo had to go. But the terrible price of World War II suggests that another answer be found. After all Stalin did pass from the scene, and Free World firmness in the face of Soviet intransigence in Berlin and elsewhere may have exploded some of the Soviet myth of infallibility.

At least one major conclusion emerges on the basis of the world's limited experience with modern totalitarianism. Appeasement, concession or compromise only makes the despots bully forth. The present institutions in mainland China offer little hope for adjustment with the outside world and probably before they can, Mao's China must be contained, its strategy of people's war decisively defeated, and viable alternatives created in the areas where people's wars threaten. Much of the cost of this will have to be borne by a firm United States in the face of frequent criticism at home and abroad, if a terrible price in large-scale war is not to be paid at a later date. This is why in the latter half of the 1960's the greatest danger to the Free World and for the United States is probably the China danger.

VII. SELECTED DOCUMENTS

CHINA AND INTERNATIONAL BODIES

1. The United Nations, People's Daily "Editorial", January 10, 1965

. . . The increase in the number of Asian and African members in the United Nations has by no means brought about any fundamental change in the fact that the U. N. has become a U. S. imperialist instrument for aggression. The Asian and African countries have vigorously upheld in the United Nations the purpose and principles of its Charter and condemned the crimes of aggression by imperialism and old and new colonialism. In spite of this, U. S. imperialism still controls the entire U. N. set-up and has persisted in its old ways of using the U. N. to commit all sorts of evil.

Recently at the U. N. Security Council session, many Asian and African nations sternly accused the U. S. and Belgian imperialists of perpetrating the monstrous crime of slaughtering the Congolese (Leopoldville) people. But what is the result? The chief culprit responsible for the massacre of the Congolese (L) people is still at large. Furthermore, the Security Council resolution has paved the way for further U. S. imperialist intervention in the Congo (L). The U. N. is not the place where the Asian and African countries can uphold justice; it is the place where U. S. imperialism bullies and oppresses people. Can this be tolerated any longer?

For many years U. S. imperialism and its followers have spared no efforts in fostering the cult of the U. N. and describing it as something miraculous in order to mislead the people of the world.

They describe the U. N. as an effective organ in safeguarding world peace. In fact, the U. N. has never played any positive role in this respect. An instance of this is that talks about disarmament have dragged on for more than ten years in the U. N. but the imperialist arms drive has become increasingly intense. There is nothing strange about this because the safeguarding of world peace, in the last analysis, is a question of fighting against imperialism and especially against U. S. imperialism. Since the U. N. is dominated by the United States, how can it oppose the U. S. imperialist policies of war and aggression? In fact, agreements on major international issues in postwar years, such as the Korean

armistice, the restoration of peace in Indo-China and the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, were reached outside the U. N. and through the resolute struggles of the people of all countries. This fully shows that world peace can be effectively safeguarded not by relying on the U. N. but by getting rid of its intervention.

The United Nations is described as the protector of the sovereignty and security of all countries in the world, particularly the small countries, as if disaster would immediately befall any country which withdraws from it. This is how U. S. imperialism is now trying to frighten Indonesia. The U. N. has more than a hundred members. Has it upheld the sovereignty of all of them? No. The experiences of Indonesia, Cambodia, Cuba and other countries have fully borne this out. On the contrary, it is precisely by resisting U. N. intervention that these countries have upheld their sovereignty and safeguarded their security. As a matter of fact, the United Nations has degenerated into a dirty international political stock exchange in the grip of a few big powers; the sovereignty of other nations, particularly that of small ones, is often bought and sold there by them like shares.

They describe the U. N. as the supreme international organization, as if a country could acquire international status only when it becomes a U. N. member, otherwise, it simply could not be regarded as an independent country. But who has given the United Nations this authority? The international status of each country is determined by its independence and its positive contributions to international affairs, not by its U. N. membership. China has been deprived of its legitimate rights in the United Nations for 15 years but this has not harmed us one whit. On the contrary, our international influence and prestige have always been in the ascendent. By upholding the anti-imperialist stand and withdrawing from the United Nations, Indonesia will certainly enjoy still higher prestige among the peoples. . . .

New China News Agency's Authorized Statement of September 1, 1965

China's stand on the United Nations is known to the whole world. The United Nations has done all kinds of evils under the manipulation of the United States and has degenerated into its tool. The United Nations must correct its mistakes and must be thoroughly reorganized.

One of the serious mistakes it has committed is that the People's Republic of China which represents the 650 million Chinese people has long been deprived of its legitimate rights in the United Nations, whereas the Chiang Kai-shek clique repudiated by the Chinese people has up till now usurped China's seat there. This unjustifiable state of affairs has all these years been a cause of general indignation among the nations of the world. The United Nations must correct this serious mistake by ousting the Chiang Kai-shek clique and restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights. This question brooks no bargaining.

2. The International Red Cross, New China News Agency release of September 22, 1965

In a statement today the Red Cross Society of China called on all Red Cross organizations in the world to condemn and demand a halt to the U.S. use of toxic chemicals and poison gas and to its scheme of waging germ warfare in South Vietnam. . . .

The Chinese Red Cross statement pointed out that "the more truculent U.S. imperialism becomes, the more resolute the resistance of the Vietnamese people and the stronger the opposition of the people throughout the whole world. Thus U.S. imperialism was speeding toward utter failure."

3. The Second Afro-Asian Conference, Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Press Conference of September 29, 1965, Official New China News Agency Version

In order to sabotage the African-Asian Conference, the imperialists are trying to hook it up with the United Nations. The Bandung Conference has enjoyed high prestige among the people of the world precisely because, having nothing to do with the United Nations, it was free from U.N. influence and contributed to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist cause of the people of

the world independently and outside the United Nations. If the conference is to be linked with the United Nations, it will be tantamount to discarding the Bandung spirit. The Chinese Government is firmly against this.

To invite a representative of the United Nations or anyone from it to the African-Asian Conference would mean, in effect, to bring the United States into the conference. Is it not ludicrous to invite agents of U.S. imperialism to an anti-imperialist conference?

The Chinese Government is resolutely against the participation of U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, in the African-Asian Conference. Everybody is clear about the role U Thant is playing. He is not the head of the United Nations; the head of the United Nations is the United States. Not being the head of any Afro-Asian state, what qualifications has he to participate in the African-Asian Conference? . . .

The Chinese Government categorically states that no representative of the United Nations should be admitted to the African-Asian Conference.

As for inviting the Soviet Union to the African-Asian Conference, the Chinese Government is firmly opposed to it. Whether historically or politically, the Soviet Union is by tradition a European country, and there is no reason for its participation in the African-Asian Conference. . . .

This question was already closed and should no longer exist. It was only recently, after the new leaders of the Soviet Union received the support and encouragement of the United States, India, Tito and some other countries that they raised this question anew. . . .

People's Daily "Editorial", November 4, 1965

The forcibly convened African-Asian foreign ministers' meeting finally took the decision to postpone indefinitely the Second African-Asian Conference. This decision accords with the common aspiration of the 2,000 million people of Asia and Africa. It is a victory for the countries and peoples upholding the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism and a failure for U.S. imperialism and its followers who made vain attempts to divide the Afro-Asian countries.

Afro-Asian solidarity was subjected to a severe test in the past few days over the question of whether or not the Second African-Asian Conference be postponed. Should the conference be held to engage in quarrels which would lead to splits among the Afro-Asian countries, or should one attach primary importance to Afro-Asian solidarity and have the conference postponed to a suitable moment? This was a question that has a vital bearing on the great cause of the 2,000 million Afro-Asian people's solidarity against imperialism. In this hour of momentous decision, no statesmen of the Afro-Asian countries could have failed to see their grave responsibility. The people of the Afro-Asian countries firmly demand the upholding of unity against imperialism and oppose a split. The outcome of the meeting reflects this irresistible common desire of the Afro-Asian peoples, and makes it clear that the overwhelming majority of the Afro-Asian countries treasure unity and cherish their larger interests. The Bandung spirit of unity against imperialism has once again demonstrated its great vitality. . . .

CHINA AND INDIA

1. "Observer" in People's Daily, September 5, 1965

. . . From Nehru to Shastri, this line pursued by the Indian reactionaries in disregarding others' sovereignty and encroaching upon others' interests has never changed. We Chinese people and the people of other victimized countries have had enough experience of this.

This unscrupulous execution of expansionism by the Indian reactionaries cannot be separated from the backing and instigation of the United States and some other big powers. For many years U. S. imperialism has given India enormous sums of money and large quantities of arms. The Khrushchev revisionists, too, have vied with the United States in granting money and arms to India. The Indian reactionaries have become their favorite.

The Indian reactionaries think that since they have had the backing of such strong powers of the world, they can do whatever they please. Hence their anti-China and anti-Pakistan campaigns and their domineering attitude toward all other neighbors. That is the root cause of tension in this part of Asia.

2. Chinese Communist note to Indian Embassy, September 26, 1965

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honor to state as follows:

In the afternoon of September 24, 1965, a mob of Indian hooligans went to the gate of the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi to make provocation, led by Indian officials and Congress leaders and driving a flock of sheep before them. They made a huge din, yelling that China had "invented absurd pretexts for threatening and intimidating India," that "China wants to start a world war over some sheep and a few yaks," and so on and so forth. This ugly farce was wholly instigated and staged by the Indian government. The Chinese government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian government.

The Indian government will definitely not succeed in its attempt, by staging this ugly anti-Chinese farce, to cover up its crimes of aggression against China and the wretched picture of its troops fleeing in panic from the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary. . . .

The distinction between aggression and anti-aggression can never be blotted out. The whole world now sees that it was India which launched a war of aggression against Pakistan, thus endangering the peace of Asia and the world, and that it was China and other justice-upholding countries which by their firm anti-aggression stand punctured your aggressive arrogance. It is understandable that you are feeling very ill at ease. But you will never succeed in your attempt to coerce China into abandoning her just stand by concocting the lie about China wanting to start a world war. The Indian government should know that it cannot do what it likes to its neighboring countries even with the backing of the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists.

In staging a few forlorn and unseemly anti-Chinese demonstrations you have your undivulgeable motive--to seek reward from the imperialists and modern revisionists. But the Chinese government must remind the Indian government that there is a limit to everything, and that the exceeding of such a limit will not be tolerated.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Peking, September 26, 1965

CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

1. "A Victory for Our Politics, a Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thinking," Liberation Army Daily, September 1, 1965

The fascists of Germany, Japan and Italy who posed the biggest threat to mankind 20 years ago were defeated. Since then, U.S. imperialism has taken their place and extended its tentacles to every corner of the world in a vain attempt to enslave and dominate the whole world. It is the most fanatical and most ferocious aggressor in history, and the deadly enemy of the people of the whole world. In the east, U.S. imperialism is feverishly treading the old road of Japanese imperialism. It continues to occupy the Chinese territory of Taiwan and is stepping up its activities to revive Japanese militarism. After meeting with defeat in its invasion of Korea, U.S. imperialism launched a war of aggression in Vietnam and pointed the spearhead of its aggression towards China. Today it is sending large reinforcements to southern Vietnam and frenziedly bombing northern Vietnam, while continually carrying out military provocations against China, boasting that it is to fight a large-scale war in Asia. Faced with such a serious situation, we will not relax our vigilance in the slightest. We must take into account the most difficult, most serious and most complex situation, and always be ready to fight for the aid of Vietnam in its struggle against U.S. aggression, and to fight U.S. imperialism if it launches a war of aggression against our country.

. . . The 650 million people of China are marching forward boldly, holding aloft the great revolutionary banner of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thinking. A Mighty revolutionary storm against imperialism is raging in Asia, Africa and Latin America. U.S. imperialism is tightly encircled by the people of the whole world.

It is even more isolated and weaker than were the German, Italian and Japanese fascists in those days. If it fails to take stock of its limited strength, miscalculates the power and determination of the Chinese people and insists on banging on our door for a trial of strength, the Chinese people will stand up and resist its aggression. Though a war imposed on us by U.S. imperialism may cause loss and damage, it will offer an excellent opportunity to annihilate U.S. imperialism, to show the power of people's war, and to make contributions to the oppressed nations and people all over the world.

There is no doubt that armed with Mao Tse-tung's ideas and the rich experience of decades of revolutionary struggle the Chinese people and their Liberation Army, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary people throughout the world, will completely smash the U. S. imperialists' attempts at aggression and war. U. S. imperialism will meet with an even more miserable end than that which befell Japanese imperialism.

2. "U. S. Imperialist Cultural Aggression Against Asian-African Countries," World Culture, Peking, October 25, 1965

U. S. imperialism is no green-hand in carrying out cultural aggression against countries in Asia and Africa. For a long time, in its aggressive activities against Asian-African countries it has given more attention to spiritual aggression than other imperialist countries.

As early as the beginning of the 19th century, American missionaries began to enter many regions in Asia and Africa to carry out missionary work, to set up schools and hospitals, to engage in spiritual aggressive activities, to spread and mold a false "American image," and to recruit and train foreign agents to defend American interests.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, American aggressive activities in the cultural sphere have been continuously developed and intensified. After the Second World War, the broad areas of Asia and Africa have become the center of the world revolutionary storm and the development of the world situation has been increasingly unfavorable to the U. S. imperialists in their pursuit of aggressive policies. In order to suppress the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to carry out neo-colonialist rule, they have increasingly applied two tactics of counter-revolution.

Apart from adopting military, political and economic means of aggression, they have further elevated their foreign cultural aggressive activities to the level of State policy--in a vain attempt to submit, ideologically, the enslaved and oppressed peoples and nations to their rule.

As soon as the Second World War ended, the Truman Administration successively devised the "Fulbright Act," the "U. S. Information and Education Exchange Act," and the "Point Four Plan." This was the beginning of large-scale cultural aggressive activities directly carried out by the government in American history.

Then, the Eisenhower Government set up the United States Information Agency and launched deceptive propaganda activities overseas on a considerable scale. And the Kennedy Government devoted huge manpower and material resources to cultural aggressive activities such as propaganda, education, and "technical assistance," and, moreover, played new tricks by setting up a "Peace Corps" and launching a "kinship" movement.

The Johnson Administration has continued to strengthen activities in these fields. From the Truman Government to the Johnson Administration, the U. S. ruling clique has consistently given extremely serious attention to, and continued to brag about the importance of, cultural aggression. They called for "equal attention being paid to culture, economy and the military" and for "winning a war to win people's hearts."

Eisenhower declared: Every American dollar spent on propaganda is equivalent to five dollars spent on national defense.

Dean Rusk claimed: Perhaps only through the educational and cultural exchange program "will the U. S. play a kind of leading role in the changes that have taken place in the world."

These speeches by the power holders of the U. S. ruling class have clearly shown their dreams of making frantic attempts to enslave and benumb the world's people culturally and ideologically. . . .

Missionaries and the "Peace Corps"

The church was one of the tools of aggression for U. S. imperialism in the early years. American missionary activities abroad have at least 150 years of history. Today, U. S. imperialism is still paying extremely close attention to church activities made to serve neo-colonialism.

According to the 1958 statistics, a total of more than 29 thousand missionaries were sent by the U. S. to other countries. Of this number, over half, or more than 15,800 persons, were sent to Asia and Africa. By 1961, American Protestant missionaries in Africa numbered 8,500--more than ten times the number of American diplomats stationed on that continent. Of the 1,100 Americans in Southern Rhodesia, 700 were missionaries. In Asia, some 3,800 American missionaries were in India and Japan alone.

American churches conduct their activities in many ways. Apart from engaging in collecting intelligence and missionary work, they have founded large numbers of church schools and "charitable" institutions of all kinds aimed at buying people's hearts, such as hospitals, orphanages, relief institutions, etc. They also give very serious attention to journalism, broadcasting, and publishing. For instance, the American Lutheran Church built in East Africa a broadcasting station called the "Voice of Gospel" with a capacity of 100 thousand kilowatts. The station broadcasts in several dozen languages.

Now, a new-type missionary who is even more thorough in deceptiveness has appeared. This is the "Peace Corps" founded by Kennedy. The "Peace Corps" is a comprehensive, active force, engaging not only in espionage activities but also in counter-revolutionary propaganda, not only in education but also in "technical assistance." Its greatest characteristic is that it does its best to "humanize" U.S. imperialism's cultural aggression. A group of personnel after they are strictly selected and trained are sent to Asian, African and Latin American countries where they penetrate into various social strata. Wearing the mask of "helping" local people, they try to buy off people, indoctrinate them, and at the same time collect intelligence.

The "Peace Corps" is more deceptive because it takes advantage of the urgent need of the newly-independent countries in Asia and Africa--for assistance in the technical and educational fields--and also because it cloaks itself in different manners.

In view of this, it received extremely serious attention from U.S. imperialism the moment it came into being. It has become an organ of the American government which has grown the fastest. In more than three years, its annual expenditures have increased by many times. At present, its budget amounts to US\$115 million, and there are 12,500 members, whose footprints spread throughout the 50 countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have infiltrated into more than three thousand cities, towns and villages. The mission of the "Peace Corps" has in fact exceeded that of the ubiquitous missionary in the last century.

Several Aggressive Tactics

As the movement of the Afro-Asian peoples against imperialism and colonialism and for national liberation is daily rising to new

heights, U. S. imperialism's cultural aggression overseas has met with more and more setbacks. Therefore it has been compelled to change its tactics and become more hypocritical. The following are the several aggressive tactics it often employs.

Hypocritic sympathy with the national, democratic movement. In Japan, the so-called "Reischauer Line" is a typical example. As American ambassador to Japan, Reischauer principally appears as a "pro-Japanese scholar." He criticizes the former ambassador McArthur II for "failing to understand the true feelings of the Japanese people in general." He publicizes the "Japanese-American friendship" and the common "democratic traditions" of the two countries, and deals with Japanese intellectual circles with a sympathetic attitude toward the "socialist" and peace movements in Japan.

Through such tactics, he tries to win people's hearts, gain the support of and buy off Japanese intellectuals, and divide and paralyze the Japanese progressive forces.

American church organizations, when briefing their missionaries, pointed out the need to use "love" and "forgiveness" to extinguish the anti-imperialist flames of the Afro-Asian peoples and paralyze their revolutionary vigilance, and to wreck the national liberation movement from within by adopting the attitude of "equality" and "humility" and by "overcoming various obstacles."

Mild criticism and big help in order to publicize American "freedom and democracy." At the present time, books kept by U. S. I. S. libraries include some works which criticize the American policy and society--such as, for instance, "Advise and Consent" which "exposes the political inside story of the U. S. Congress" and the "Ugly American" which exposes the corruption of American government officials in Southeast Asia. In actual fact, these are used to publicize America's "democratic politics" and "freedom of speech and thought."

Adrian Berwick, Executive Editor of the International Editions of "The Reader's Digest," a reactionary American magazine, when testifying at the House of Representatives, said nakedly, "We often criticize government policy, and we often expose the ugly aspects of American society..... In this way our criticisms will make foreign readers believe even more in those articles which praise (the American government policy), and which are in the majority."

Pull the wire behind the screen and borrowing another's knife to kill people. The U.S.I.S. in Afro-Asian regions employs large numbers of local people and instills into them reactionary ideas and, through them, expands its ties and influences. Where American government activities are restricted, the place is filled by Civil organizations. Where American activities are boycotted, they will be carried out through the U.N. Where American churches are not welcomed, their place is taken over by "acclimatized" churches.

At the same time, local organs are made use of to sell American goods--for instance, supplying local broadcasting stations, newspapers and magazines, at a cheap price or free of charge, broadcasting and television programs, news reports and articles; or local newspapers and publishing concerns are bought over.

In India, according to some data, the four big English newspapers in Delhi have been to varying degrees bought over by the U.S. The two news agencies set up in India in 1961 also have special relationships with the U.S.

"Promoting kinship" American Negroes are sent to Africa to promote "Kinship" activities. In Africa, U.S.I.S. and "Peace Corps" groups have Negroes on their staff. In addition, Negro jazz bands are sent to Africa on tour. American Negro publications such as "Negro Tribune" and "Negro's Digest" distributed in Africa are designed to use the racial relations of Blacks to make it easier for Africans to accept pro-American propaganda and indoctrination.

Despite the fact that the cultural aggression conducted by U.S. imperialism is very large in scale and very cunning in tactics, there is a basic conflict between its aggressive nature and its hypocritical face. While it holds the olive branch in one hand, it daily more exposes the other which holds the sword. For this reason, it can only play the role of a teacher by negative example among the broad masses of the people, and it can only awaken the people still more, enabling them to further perceive the true features of U.S. imperialism and to rise against it.

In Afro-Asian regions at the present time, public opinion condemning U.S. imperialism's cultural aggression is getting more extensive and sharper. The "Peace Corps," an aggressive instrument considered by the U.S. to be the most "effective," has been strongly denounced and opposed by public opinion or mass bodies in 17 Afro-

Asian countries including Pakistan, Ceylon, and Tanzania. Instances where organs for U. S. cultural aggression are closed and U. S. personnel engaged in cultural aggression expelled have continued to occur. In many places, the U. S. I. S. has become a target of attack by the masses. Libraries are stormed, books burned, and buildings wrecked.

All these show that cultural aggressive activities carried out by U. S. imperialism are being resisted everywhere, and its ugly mien is being recognized by more and more people.

CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

1. "Carry the Struggle Against Khrushchev Revisionism Through to the End," by the Editorial Departments of Red Flag and People's Daily, June 14, 1965

The two years since the publication of the Proposal by the Central Committee of our Party have been years of open polemics and fierce struggle, on an unprecedented scale, between the Marxist-Leninist parties and Marxist-Leninists of the world and the Khrushchev revisionists. . . .

The open polemics and fierce struggle over the past two years have centred on the following three questions:

First, whether to adhere to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism or to anti-revolutionary revisionism. . . .

Secondly, whether to unite with the people of the world against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys or to unite with U. S. imperialism and its lackeys against the people of the world. . . .

Thirdly, whether to have unity or a split. Betraying Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Khrushchev revisionists have become the greatest splitters in history. . . .

Khrushchev's downfall was a signal victory for Marxism-Leninism. But it meant neither the disappearance of Khrushchev revisionism nor the end of the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism. . . .

. . . the new leaders of the C. P. S. U. told us that there was not a shade of difference between them and Khrushchev on the question of the international communist movement and in their attitude towards China. All their deeds in the eight months since their assumption of office have shown that they are indeed following in Khrushchev's footsteps and that they are carrying out Khrushchev revisionism without Khrushchev.

It is not at all strange that after his downfall Khrushchev's successors should go on doing the same things as he did. Marxist-

Leninists pointed out long ago that the emergence of Khrushchev revisionism is not due to a few individuals and is not an accidental phenomenon, but has deep social roots. It is a product both of the inundation of the Soviet Union by domestic capitalist forces, and of the policies pursued by the imperialists.

After Khrushchev's ascent to power, this arch-schemer gradually usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, and as a consequence the new bourgeois elements in Soviet society gradually became a privileged bourgeois stratum opposed to the Soviet people. This privileged stratum is the social base of the Khrushchev revisionist clique. And this clique is its political representative.

The privileged stratum in the Soviet Union got rid of Khrushchev not because he practised revisionism, but because he was too stupid and disreputable, and because he was impaled on a dilemma in internal and external affairs, was opposed and condemned by the masses, deserted by his followers, and threatened by a growing crisis, and therefore could not muddle on any longer. The revisionist line was like a ramshackle cart which the rash fool Khrushchev was driving unsteadily, and this inevitably endangered the dominant position of the Soviet privileged stratum. Thus it came to pass that Khrushchev himself became an obstacle to the pursuit of Khrushchev revisionism. To protect the interests of the Soviet privileged stratum and press on with the revisionist line, it became imperative to oust Khrushchev and put others in his place. . . .

In a nutshell, there are both real and sham features in all this self-contradictory behaviour of the new leaders of the C. P. S. U., some features being real and others sham. Some phenomena reveal the very essence of things and are real; other phenomena do not and are sham. For all their cheap stage tricks and deceptive writings, in none of their changes have the new leaders of the C. P. S. U. departed from their essence, namely, Khrushchev revisionism, splittism and great-power chauvinism, and Soviet-U. S. co-operation for the domination of the world. But compared with Khrushchev they are practising a more covert, more cunning and more dangerous revisionism. . . .

The struggle against Khrushchev revisionism has a vital bearing on the future of the international communist movement, the development of the people's revolutionary struggle and the fate of mankind.

Revisionism has always been a force hostile to and disruptive of the revolution. To make revolutions or to support revolutions, it is imperative to carry the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism through to the end.

Revisionism has always been a social prop of imperialism, a force serving imperialism. To combat imperialism, and above all U.S. imperialism, it is imperative to carry the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism through to the end.

The struggle against modern revisionism has won great victories in the last two years. Of course, this struggle is a protracted one, and some twists and turns and difficulties are unavoidable. But it is quite certain that Marxism-Leninism will triumph over revisionism in the end. This is proved by what has already happened and will also be confirmed in the future.

The Khrushchev revisionists are confronted with innumerable contradictions. They cannot resolve their contradiction with the Soviet people, Soviet Party members and cadres, who constitute over 90 per cent of the Soviet population, nor can they resolve their contradiction with the masses of the people and the Marxist-Leninists of all countries, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population of the world. They can neither resolve the contradiction between the great Soviet people who are determined to follow the socialist road, and U.S. imperialism, nor the contradiction within the ranks of the revisionists themselves. It was precisely these irreconcilable contradictions that wrecked Khrushchev's political career. Those who follow in his footsteps will not be able to avoid the same fate.

The forces of Marxism-Leninism have grown immensely in the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism, and particularly so since the beginning of the open polemics. Never have the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism been so widely propagated. The Marxist-Leninist ranks have undergone a new tempering. As we carry the anti-revisionist struggle forward today, we benefit from Lenin's experience in opposing the revisionists of the Second International, from Stalin's experience in opposing Trotsky and Bukharin and from the experience already gained in combating modern revisionism, and Khrushchev revisionism in particular. We must make full use of all these favourable factors and firmly combat Khrushchev revisionism without Khrushchev.

The task of the Marxist-Leninists is to know the world and to change it. It is through mastery of the laws of historical development, through reliance on the strength of the masses and through revolutionary struggle that Marxist-Leninists push the wheel of history forward. But the revisionists go against the laws of historical development; they side with the reactionary and decaying forces, set themselves against the people, oppose revolutionary struggle and try to hold back the wheel of history. As Lenin said, "The winner in the long run is the side which has the force of historical development behind it." We have boundless confidence in the complete victory of the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people will unswervingly follow the general line of the international communist movement which we proposed two years ago. We will raise still higher the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism and, together with the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world, we will carry forward to the end the struggle against imperialism and reaction headed by the United States, carry forward to the end the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism, and strive for the triumph of the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, and for a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

CHINA AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

1. "View Nuclear Weapons with a Correct World Outlook" by Han Tung-pi, Li Ch'ing-kun and Yu Tzu-chung, Kuang Ming Daily, August 27, 1965

. . . the appearance of atom bombs and other nuclear weapons absolutely does not, as the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs, the modern revisionists, say, change the class nature and law of war. As all of us are aware, war is a form of the most violent and sharpest direct clash in class struggle, the highest form of class struggle and national contradiction, and a special means for solving the conflicts between opposing classes and nations. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has made a brilliant exposition of the nature of war. He said: "War began with the appearance of private property and classes. It is the highest form of struggle for resolving the contradictions at a certain stage of development between one class and another, one nation and another, one country and another, and one political group and another." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 1, p. 164) The fact is exactly so; it was so in the past and is still so at present. It is not changed because of the appearance of nuclear weapons. . . .

It goes without saying that the possession of atom bombs by China is a great encouragement to the people of the whole world in their revolutionary struggle, a telling blow at the nuclear blackmail of U.S. imperialism, and a tremendous contribution to the protection of world peace. It boosts the morale of the world's people but greatly discourages the enemy. That is why the people of the world who are waging a struggle against U.S. imperialism regarded the success of China's nuclear test as their own victory, calling China's atom bomb "the atom bomb for peace." This glorious victory of China has received warm congratulations from all peace-loving countries and peoples.

. . . Atom bombs are of course more destructive than conventional weapons, but they cannot fight the masses of the people, because the masses of the people really form steel walls. These steel walls, that is, the masses of the people, cannot be destroyed by any weapon. It is the unalterable conviction of Marxist-Leninists that the human society will always develop according to its own objective law, and no new weapon can change the direction of historical development.

. . . The question of whether or not we fear the atom bombs is in essence the question of whether or not we fear the U.S. imperialists who brandish atom bombs in their hands. The modern revisionists are scared out of their wits by the U.S. imperialists' policies of nuclear blackmail and threats. They raise the white flag in front of the U.S. imperialists and desperately publicize the traitorous philosophy of keeping oneself alive, trying to oppose the revolution, abolishing struggle, and completely betraying the proletarian revolutionary philosophy.

CHINA AND PEOPLE'S WAR

1. "Long Live the Victory of People's War," by Lin Piao, September 2, 1965, Excerpts

It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using the simplest and the most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

He clearly pointed out:

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

War is the product of imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man. Lenin said that "war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes". So long as imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man exist, the imperialists and reactionaries will invariably rely on armed force to maintain their reactionary rule and impose war on the oppressed nations and peoples. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

In the world today, all the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys, without exception, are strengthening their state machinery, and especially their armed forces. U.S. imperialism, in particular, is carrying out armed aggression and suppression everywhere.

What should the oppressed nations and the oppressed people do in the face of wars of aggression and armed suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys? Should they submit and remain slaves in perpetuity? Or should they rise in resistance and fight for their liberation?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung answered this question in vivid terms. He said that after long investigation and study the Chinese people discovered that all the imperialists and their lackeys "have swords in their hands and are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act after the same fashion." This is called doing unto them what they do unto us.

In the last analysis, whether one dares to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against armed aggression and suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, whether one dares to fight a people's war against them, is tantamount to whether one dares to embark on revolution. This is the most effective touchstone for distinguishing genuine from fake revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists.

In view of the fact that some people were afflicted with the fear of the imperialists and reactionaries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward his famous thesis that "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers". He said,

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.

The history of people's war in China and other countries provides conclusive evidence that the growth of the people's revolutionary forces from weak and small beginnings into strong and large forces is a universal law of development of class struggle, a universal law of development of people's war. A people's war inevitably meets with many difficulties, with ups and downs and setbacks in the course of its development, but no force can alter its general trend towards inevitable triumph. . . .

The imperialists are extremely afraid of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers", and the revisionists are extremely hostile to it. They all oppose and attack this thesis and the philistines follow suit by ridiculing it. But all this cannot in the least diminish its importance. The light of truth cannot be dimmed by anybody.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war solves not only the problem of daring to fight a people's war, but also that of how to wage it.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a great statesman and military scientist, proficient at directing war in accordance with its laws. By the line and policies, the strategy and tactics he formulated for the people's war, he led the Chinese people in steering the ship of the people's war past all hidden reefs to the shores of victory in most complicated and difficult conditions. . . .

Curs is the epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are heading for their doom and socialism and communism are marching to victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war is not only a product of the Chinese revolution, but has also the characteristics of our epoch. The new experience gained in the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries since World War II has provided continuous evidence that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a common asset of the revolutionary people of the whole world. This is the great international significance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. . . .

At present, the main battlefield of the fierce struggle between the people of the world on the one side and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys on the other is the vast area of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the world as a whole, this is the area where the people suffer worst from imperialist oppression and where imperialist rule is most vulnerable. Since World War II, revolutionary storms have been rising in this area, and today they have become the most important force directly pounding U.S. imperialism. The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world. The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. . .

However highly developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be and however complicated the methods of modern warfare, in the final analysis the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of the ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of the men, by their courage and spirit of sacrifice. Here the weak points of U.S. imperialism will be completely laid bare, while the superiority of the revolutionary people will be brought into full play. The reactionary troops of U.S. imperialism cannot possibly be endowed with the courage and the spirit of sacrifice possessed by the revolutionary people. The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb.

Viet Nam is the most convincing current example of a victim of aggression defeating U.S. imperialism by a people's war. The United States has made south Viet Nam a testing ground for the suppression of people's war. It has carried on this experiment for many years, and everybody can now see that the U.S. aggressors are unable to find a way of coping with people's war. On the other

hand, the Vietnamese people have brought the power of people's war into full play in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors. The U.S. aggressors are in danger of being swamped in the people's war in Viet Nam. They are deeply worried that their defeat in Viet Nam will lead to a chain reaction. They are expanding the war in an attempt to save themselves from defeat. But the more they expand the war, the greater will be the chain reaction. The more they escalate the war, the heavier will be their fall and the more disastrous their defeat. The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that U.S. imperialism can be defeated, and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do too.

History has proved and will go on proving that people's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. All revolutionary people will learn to wage people's war against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. They will take up arms, learn to fight battles and become skilled in waging people's war, though they have not done so before. U.S. imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place, will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fires of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *JS*

FROM : R. W. Smith *R*

SUBJECT: "THE CHINA DANGER"
PROPOSED PAMPHLET
BY DR. RICHARD L. WALKER
AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION MATTERS

DATE: February 23, 1966

1 - ~~Mr. DeLoach~~
1 - Mr. Felt
1 - Mr. H. L. Edwards
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 -
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Garner
1 - Mr. Cotter

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Gale _____
Rosen _____
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Gandy _____

H. L. [Signature] b6
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The enclosed copy of the above-proposed pamphlet by Dr. Richard L. Walker of the Institute of International Studies, the University of South Carolina, has been received from the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association (ABA). The Committee approved the draft form of Dr. Walker's study at its meeting in Chicago February 20-22, 1966, and is attempting to have the pamphlet approved by the ABA Board of Governors and published by June, 1966. The Committee will be making minor editorial changes in the manuscript prior to publication. Dr. Walker has prepared studies in the field of communism for the Committee in the past.

The study, reviewed by Research-Satellite Section, calls attention to the danger of totalitarian Chinese communism to the world and to the freedom of Asian peoples. Dr. Walker, in discussing communist rule in China as a totalitarian regime, states that compromising with Communist China in Southeast Asia would be as dangerous as the compromise of Great Britain and France with Hitler over Czechoslovakia in 1938. Dr. Walker's position vigorously supports the Administration's policy on Southeast Asia, and Vietnam in particular. There is no mention of the Director or the Bureau in the study. It is believed the proposed pamphlet with its historical analysis and quotations from Chinese communist sources will be of research value to the Bureau and should be maintained in the Bureau's files.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Enclosure

(94-1-369)

JMS:dls
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1 ENCLOSURE

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5 - *[Signature]*
[Signature]

February 28, 1966

PERSONAL

Yates
Honorable Joseph H. Gordon
Puget Sound Bank Building
Tacoma, Washington 98402

Dear Mr. Gordon:

It is indeed a pleasure to congratulate you on the occasion of your re-election as Treasurer of the American Bar Association.

This honor certainly reflects the high regard in which you are held by your associates in that organization. Your selection to serve in this capacity is a tribute to your ability, and I would not want the occasion to pass without extending best wishes for all success.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Seattle

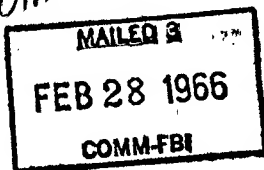
NOTE: See Mr. Edwards to Mr. Felt memo of 2-25-66 captioned "American Bar Association Midyear Meeting, Chicago, Illinois; February 19-22, 1966, New Key Officers." BLH:mbk

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Inspector H. J. Edwards

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T. J. [unclear]

February 28, 1966

PERSONAL

Honorable Earl F. Morris
Wright, Harlor, Morris,
Arnold and Glander
Huntington Bank Building
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Dear Mr. Morris:

I want to extend congratulations on the
occasion of your selection as President-elect of the
American Bar Association.

This is indeed a well-deserved recognition
of your ability and a tribute to you personally. This
honor accorded you reflects the esteem in which you are
held by your colleagues, and you have my best wishes
for all success in your future endeavors.

Sincerely yours,

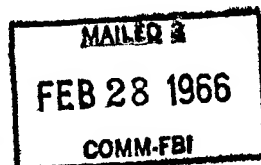
J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Cincinnati

NOTE: See Mr. Edwards to Mr. Felt memo of 2-25-66 captioned
"American Bar Association Midyear Meeting, Chicago, Illinois;"
February 19-22, 1966, New Key Officers." BLH:mbk

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February 28, 1966

PERSONAL

Honorable [redacted]
Bank of the Southwest Building
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear [redacted]

I want to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations on your selection to serve a fourth term as Secretary of the American Bar Association.

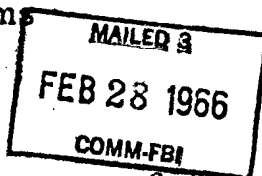
You can indeed take deep pride in this honor which is certainly a tribute to your many contributions to that organization. I know you derive great satisfaction in being chosen to continue your service in your present capacity, and you have my best wishes for every success in all your endeavors.

Sincerely yours,

1 - Houston

NOTE: See Mr. Edwards to Mr. Felt memo of 2-25-66 captioned "American Bar Association Midyear Meeting, Chicago, Illinois; February 19-22, 1966, New Key Officers." BLH:mbk

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Inspector H. H. [unclear]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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FBI CHICAGO

401 PM CST DEFERRED 2/22/66 JLS
TO DIRECTOR ATTN: INSPECTOR H. LYNN EDWARDS
FROM CHICAGO (80-355) 2P

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, MID-YEAR MEETING, CHICAGO, ILL., FEB.
EIGHTEEN-TWENTYTWO INSTANT.

THERE FOLLOWS A SUMMARY OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS OF TODAY:
EARL F. MORRIS, COLUMBUS, OHIO, NOMINATED AS PRESIDENT-ELECT
OF ABA AND HIS FORMAL ELECTION AS SUCH WILL OCCUR AT ABA ANNUAL
MEETING, MONTREAL, CAN., AUG. EIGHT NEXT.

[REDACTED] OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA., NOMINATED AS CHAIRMAN,
HOUSE OF DELEGATES; [REDACTED], HOUSTON, TEX., NOMINATED FOR
FOURTH TERM AS SECRETARY; JOSEPH H. GORDON, TACOMA, WASH., NOMINATED
FOR SECOND TERM AS TREASURER; AND FIVE NOMINEES TO SERVE ON BOARD
OF GOVERNORS FOR THREE YEAR TERMS ARE ERWIN N. GRISWOLD, CAMBRIDGE,
MASS. (FIRST DIST.), [REDACTED] RUTLAND, VT. (SECOND DIST.),
[REDACTED] BALTIMORE, MD. (FOURTH DIST.), [REDACTED]
JR., MOBILE, ALA. (SIXTH DIST.), AND [REDACTED], CARLSBAD
N. MEX. (TWELFTH DIST.).

END PAGE ONE

EX-113

18 MAR 23 1966

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MR. MOHR FOR THE DIRECTOR

PAGE TWO

CG 80-355

[REDACTED] CHAIRMAN, STANDING COMMITTEE ON JUDICIAL SELECTION, TENURE AND COMPENSATION, SUBMITTED A RESOLUTION WHICH WAS ADOPTED, INSTRUCTING THAT SENATORIAL CANDIDATES BE CONTACTED TO SECURE COMMITMENTS THAT THEY WILL NOT APPOINT ANYONE FOR THE JUDICIARY WHO IS NOT CONSIDERED QUALIFIED BY ABA.

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ALBERT E. JENNER, JR., CHAIRMAN, STANDING COMMITTEE ON THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY, REPORTED TO THE HOUSE THAT HIS COMMITTEE HAS RECEIVED WHOLEHEARTED COOPERATION FROM NICHOLAS DE B. KATZENBACH AND RAMSEY CLARK, AG AND DEPUTY AG, IN CONNECTION WITH JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS. JENNER STATED CONTROVERSY CONCERNING MORRISSEY'S CONTESTED APPOINTMENT PROVED THAT U.S. ELECTORATE IS VITALLY CONCERNED OVER THE QUALITY OF FEDERAL JUDGES.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES ADJOURNED NOONTIME TODAY AFTER PRESENTATION OF NEW NOMINEES-ELECT TO HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

END

WA ALT

FBI WASH DC

TU CLR

cc Mr Felt + Mr Edwards

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 20 1966

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI CHICAGO

10:56 PM CST URGENT 2-19-66

TO DIRECTOR ATTN: INSPECTOR H. L. EDWARDS
FROM CHICAGO (80-355)

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION MID-YEAR MEETING, CHICAGO, ILL., FEB. NINETEEN
THRU TWENTYTWO, SIXTYSIX.

THIS SUMMARIZES PERTINENT INFO CONCERNING SATURDAY SESSION, FEB.
NINETEEN, INSTANT:

THE YOUNG LAWYERS SECTION, ABA, SPONSORED SEMINAR AND TRIAL
DEMONSTRATION AT PALMER HOUSE HOTEL. TRIAL CONCERNED DEFENDANT WHO WAS
INDICTED ON NARCOTICS COUNTS INVOLVING POSSESSION AND SALE OF DRUGS.
AT COMMENTARY, WHICH FOLLOWED PRESENTATION OF EVIDENCE, PANEL MEMBER,

[REDACTED] CRIMINAL LAW SECTION DELEGATE TO HOUSE OF
DELEGATES, STATED THAT IN HIS EXPERIENCE AS A DEFENSE ATTORNEY HE HAS
NOTED THAT FBI AGENTS ALWAYS AFFORD FULL CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS TO
PERSONS ARRESTED BY THEM; HOWEVER, MANY POLICE OFFICERS DO NOT AFFORD
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS TO PERSONS THEY ARREST [REDACTED] STATED THAT MANY
POLICE OFFICERS DO NOT WARN PERSONS THEY ARREST OF THEIR RIGHTS TO
COUNSEL, THEIR RIGHT TO REMAIN SILENT, AS WELL AS OTHER RIGHTS
AFFORDED THEM, UNTIL THEY HAVE INTERROGATED THEM OR OBTAINED A CONFESSION
FROM THEM. [REDACTED] WENT ON TO STATE THAT HE IS CERTAIN THAT IN SOME
CASES THE POLICE FAIL TO ADVISE PERSONS ARRESTED OF THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL
RIGHTS EVEN AT THE CONCLUSION OF THEIR INTERROGATION.

END PAGE ONE

11 MAR 7 1966

PAGE TWO

AS PART OF THE TRAIL AND SEMINAR, THE YOUNG LAWYERS SECTION SPONSOR^{RED}
A LUNCHEON AT WHICH TIME PERCY FOREMAN, PROMINENT HOUSTON DEFENSE
ATTORNEY WHO REPRESENTED JACK RUBY AND IS CURRENTLY THE CHIEF DEFENSE
ATTORNEY IN THE CANDACE MOSSLER TRIAL IN MIAMI, WAS THE FEATURED SPEAKER
DURING HIS SPEECH, FOREMAN'S REMARKS WERE FOR THE MOST PART CONFINED TO
THOSE OF THE PREVIOUS PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH PRECEDED HIS TALK.

AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE FOREMAN STATED THAT SINCE EIGHTEEN THIRTYON^{NE}
THE POLICE HAVE CONSISTENTLY DISREGARDED CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF
DEFENDANTS IN THE UNITED STATES. FEDERAL AGENCIES, NAMELY THE FBI,
IRS, AND INS, HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN SECURING CONVICTIONS WHILE
AFFORDING CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS TO DEFENDANTS. FOREMAN SAID THAT
FEDERAL AGENCIES HAVE SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE TO CONVICT BEFORE THEY
MAKE THE ARREST; WHEREAS, THE POLICE ARE PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH
OBTAINING EVIDENCE FROM THE DEFENDANT INSTEAD OF AGAINST THE DEFENDANT.
FOREMAN PREDICTED THAT WITHIN TEN TO FIFTEEN YRS. EVIDENCE OBTAINED
BY INTERROGATION WOULD NO LONGER BE ALLOWED IN OUR CRIMINAL COURTS.

END PAGR TWO

PAGE THREE

IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION RELATING TO THE BALANCING OF RIGHTS BETWEEN^{N THE} INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY, FOREMAN, WHILE NOT ACTUALLY RESPONSIVE, SUGGEST^{ED} THAT SOCIETY'S RIGHTS COULD BE PROTECTED BY BETTER LAW ENFORCEMENT.

IN ADDITION, DURING HIS SPEECH AT THE LUNCHEON, FOREMAN STATED THAT A QUOTE POLICE STATE UNQUOTE IS NOW IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AT WASHINGTON. HE STATED THAT A FEW YRS. AGO AN ATTORNEY (UNSPECIFIED), WHO NEITHER HAD EXPERIENCE AS A PRACTICING LAWYER NOR WAS ACQUAINTED WITH THE PROBLEMS OF A DEFENDANT, WAS GIVEN A HIGH POSITION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. HE STATED THAT THIS UNNAMED ATTORNEY PRESUADED A NUMBER OF OTHER YOUNG INEXPERIENCED ATTORNEYS TO JOIN HIM IN THIS DEPT. OF JUSTICE WHERE A SECTION AGAINST "ORGANIZED CRIME" WAS FORMED. FOREMAN STATED THAT THIS ^GROUP IS THE GREATEST THREAT AGAINST THE FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE UNITED STATES. HE CONTINUED THAT THIS GROUP HAS USURPED THE POWERS OF THE VARIOUS UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IN OPERATING THEIR SECTION FROM WASHINGTON. FOREMAN DID NOT FURNISH ANY SPECIFIC FACTS UPON WHICH HE BASED THE ABOVE OBSERVATION.

11 FOREMAN STATED THAT WITHIN THE LAST WEEK OR TEN DAYS HE RECEIVED
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

A TELEPHONE CALL FROM ONE OF HIS CLIENTS IN NYC WHO HAD BEEN ARRESTED BY AN UNNAMED AGENCY OF THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE IN CONNECTION WITH HAVING PLACED A GAMBLING BET ACROSS STATE LINES. FOREMAN RELATED THAT AN ATTORNEY FOR THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE HAD REQUESTED AN EXCESSIVE BOND, WHICH, AFTER PROTEST, WAS REDUCED TO TWENTY FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS. FOREMAN STATED THAT HE ASKED THE DEPT. ATTORNEY THE REASON FOR THE EXCESSIVE BAIL. FOREMAN STATED THIS ATTORNEY REMARKED THAT A HIGH BAIL WOULD BE PERSUASIVE TO THE JUDGE DETERMINING PUNISHMENT IF THE DEFENDANT SHOULD BE FOUND GUILTY LATER. FOREMAN STATED THIS PROVED TO HIM AND SHOULD SATISFY EVERYONE THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE IN THE DEPT. THAT CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO FREEDOM FOR ALL AMERICANS.

THE LUNCHEON IN QUESTION WAS ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS WHO RECEIVED FOREMAN'S REMARKS IN POLITE MANNER AND ONLY GAVE MINOR APPLAUSE AT THE CONCLUSION.

E. CLINTON BAMBERGER, JR., DIRECTOR, LEGAL SERVICES PROGRAM, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, IN ADDRESSING NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BAR PRESIDENTS, SAID THAT ONE FIFTH OF THE PEOPLE IN THIS NATION DO NOT HAVE EQUAL JUSTICE BY REASON OF THE FACT THEY ARE POOR. THIS CONDITION, ACCORDING TO BAMBERGER, PRESENTS A CHALLENGE TO LAWYERS WHO FOR CENTURES HAVE NEVER BEEN CONTENTED WITH THE STATUS QUO. BAMBERGER URGED ATTORNEYS TO ASSIST THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY IN FURNISHING FREE LEGAL SERVICES TO THE POOR AND THUS MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE TIMES PRESENTED BY CHANGING SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH D. TYDINGS, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MARYLAND AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMPROVEMENTS IN JUDICIAL MACHINERY, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, DELIVERED AN ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL CONERENCE OF BAR PRESIDENTS AT WHICH TIME HE SAID THAT HIS SUBCOMMITTEE IS CONCERNED WITH THE NECESSITY OF REMOVAL OF JUDGES WHO ARE NO LONGER CAPABLE OF DISCHARGING THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. HE SAID THAT A NUMBER OF JUDGES HAVE BECOME UNFIT BY REASON OF THE FACT THEY HAVE BECOME SENILE, ALCOHOLIC, OR OTHERWISE HAVE BECOME MISFITS. TYDINGS SAID THAT THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDES FOR IMPEACHMENT OF JUDGES FOR "HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS" BUT SUGGESTED THAT THIS PROVISION DOES NOT AFFORD A BASIS FOR CORRECTIVE ACTION WHERE THERE IS SENILITY, DISABILITY, LAZINESS, OR ALCOHOLISM.

THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AGAINST COMMUNISM MET FOR FULL DAY MEETING. THE COMMITTEE AGREED TO CONTINUE THE SUPPORT OF ITS PROJECTS FOR PREPARATION OF ARTICLES EXPOSING THE NATURE OF COMMUNISM AND ITS THREAT TO A FREE SOCIETY. A PROPOSED ARTICLE BY DIXIE WALKER, DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, WHO IS NOW IN FORMOSA ON SABBATICAL LEAVE, WAS DISCUSSED. THIS ARTICLE SETS FORTH PARALLELS BETWEEN THE CHINESE REGIME AND THAT OF ADOLF HITLER.

END PAGE FIVE

PAGE SIX

ARTICLE FAVORABLY RECEIVED BY COMMITTEE WHICH IS LOOKING FOR AN EARLY COMPLETION DATE.

MORRIS LEIBMAN, COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN, MADE FAVORABLE MENTION OF THE DIRECTOR'S STATEMENT CONCERNING THE AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENT IN THE FEB., SIXTYSIX, ISSUE OF "FBI LAW ENFORCEMENT BULLETIN." HE RECOMMENDED IT TO THE COMMITTEE FOR READING. COMMITTEE PLANS TO HOLD

FULL DAY SESSION TOMORROW AND A BRIEFING SESSION FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES ON MONDAY EVENING AT WHICH TIME DR. RICHARD V. ALLEN OF THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, AND DR.

PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY WILL PRESENT A PROGRAM CONCERNING NATIONAL WARS OF LIBERATION AND THE SOUTHEAST ASIA SITUATION.

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SUMMARY OF PERTINENT ACTION IN SUBSEQUENT DAYS OF PROCEEDINGS WILL BE SUBMITTED.

WA....~~NEED SEVERAL CORRECTIONS~~

JMS
FBI WASH DC

cc - Mr. Felt
Mr. Edwards.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 20 1966

FBI CHICAGO

854 PM CST DEFERRED 2-20-66 HRF

TO DIRECTOR ATTN: INSPECTOR H. L. EDWARDS

FROM CHICAGO (80-355)

TELETYPE

H. L. EDWARDS

RECEIVED
FBI

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION MID-YEAR MEETING, CHICAGO, ILL., FEB.
NINETEEN THRU TWENTYTWO, SIXTYSIX.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Wick	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

THIS SUMMARIZES PERTINENT INFO CONCERNING SUN. SESSION, FEB.
TWENTY, INSTANT:

HON. J. EDWARD LUMBARD, USCA, SECOND CIRCUIT, CHAIRMAN, SPECIAL
COMMITTEE FOR MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE,
ADDRESSED FELLOWS OF AMERICAN BAR FOUNDATION AND NAT'L CONFERENCE
OF BAR PRESIDENTS. LUMBARD REVIEWED PROGRESS OF HIS COMMITTEE AND
STATED THAT IN SIXTYSIX EACH OF THE COMMITTEES EXPECT TO DISTRIBUTE
FOR DISCUSSION PROPOSED STANDARDS. HE SAID THE WORDING OF JUSTICE
GOLDBERG'S MAJORITY OPINION IN ESCOBEDO DECISION HAS RAISED MORE
QUESTIONS THAN IT HAS ANSWERED. THUS, THE QUESTIONING AND DETENTION
OF SUSPECTS HAS BECOME A NO-MAN'S LAND WHERE THERE ARE NO RELIABLE
GUIDES. HE SAID THE COMMITTEE IS ATTEMPTING TO SUGGEST A COMPREHENSIVE
PROCEDURE CONSISTENT AND RESPONSIVE BOTH TO REASONABLE REQUIREMENTS OF
LAW ENFORCEMENT AND THE ADEQUATE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

LUMBARD SAID THE ELEVEN MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE, INCLUDING
LYNN EDWARDS, INSPECTOR OF FBI, ARE NOT NEWCOMERS TO CRIMINAL JUSTICE
AND, ACCORDINGLY, ARE MAKING MATERIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE COMMITTEE'S
WORK.

REC-117

94-1-369-2021

LUMBARD SAID THE ABUSE BY STATE COURT PRISONERS OF FEDERAL HABEAS
CORPUS RELIEF HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF DEBATE AND PROPOSED LEGISLATION
SINCE NINETEEN FORTYFIVE. LUMBARD SAID HIS COMMITTEE HAS DETERMINED

END PAGE ONE

60 MAR 15 1966

MR. MOHR FOR THE DIRECTOR

11 MAR 7 1966

PAGE TWO

THAT MORE THAN FOUR THOUSAND FEDERAL HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS ARE SUBMITTED ANNUALLY AND THAT ONLY TWO PERCENT OF THE PETITIONS ARE MERITORIOUS. BECAUSE OF THIS LOW PERCENTAGE OF MERITORIOUS PETITIONS, HIS COMMITTEE IS CONSIDERING PROPOSALS TO ALLEVIATE THIS UNNECESSARY BURDEN ON BOTH STATE AND FEDERAL COURTS. LUMBARD SAID THE PRINCIPAL CRITICISMS OF THE FEDERAL HABEAS CORPUS PROCEEDINGS WERE THAT THEY CAUSED AN UNDUE DELAY IN THE FINALITY OF STATE JUDGMENTS IN CRIMINAL CASES, THE AWKWARD SITUATION PRESENTED WHEN LOWER FEDERAL COURTS PASS UPON DECISIONS OF THE HIGHEST COURT IN THE STATE.

THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON LEGAL AID AND INDIGENT DEFENDANTS MET AT A JOINT MEETING WITH THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL LEGAL AID AND DEFENDER ASSOCIATION (NLADA). THE NLADA AND COMMITTEE ON LEGAL AID AND INDIGENT DEFENDANTS AGREED ON RECOMMENDATION TO BE SUBMITTED TO HOUSE OF DELEGATES PROVIDING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF STANDARDS OF CIVIL LEGAL AID AND DEFENDER ORGANIZATIONS PREVIOUSLY AGREED UPON BY THESE TWO BODIES. THE NLADA AND THE COMMITTEE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK TO ESTABLISH ADEQUATE LEGAL AID SERVICES IN CIVIL AND CRIMINAL FIELDS BASED UPON THE PHILOSOPHY THAT THE PRACTICE OF LAW IS AFFECTED WITH A PUBLIC INTEREST AND THAT ONE WAY TO OBTAIN THE CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT OF THE PUBLIC IS TO RENDER USEFUL PROFESSIONAL SERVICE.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AGAINST COMMUNISM MET FOR A FULL-DAY MEETING. OF PRIMARY CONCERN WAS THE VIETNAM LAW DEBATE AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE "MEMORANDUM OF LAW OF THE LAWYER'S COMMITTEE ON VIETNAM" WHICH WAS RECENTLY PREPARED BY A GROUP OF LAWYERS FOR THE PURPOSE OF SHOWING THAT UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE IS ILLEGAL BECAUSE GIVEN UNDER THE PRETEXT OF SELF-DEFENSE AND, ACCORDING TO THE MEMORANDUM, THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT FOR VARIOUS REASONS CANNOT CLAIM THAT RIGHT. IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND GOV'T CIRCLES THIS PAPER IS REFERRED TO AS THE CROWN MEMORANDUM AND REPORTEDLY HAS GIVEN PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND HIS ADMINISTRATION CAUSE FOR CONCERN. THE COMMITTEE GAVE CONSIDERATION TO POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES FOR EXPOSING THE UNREALISTIC POSITION OF THIS PAPER AND CONCLUDED THAT A BRIEF SHOULD BE PREPARED WHICH WOULD MAKE A POINT-BY-POINT REFUTATION. ACCORDING TO COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN, MORRIS LEIBMAN, THE WHITE HOUSE HAS REQUESTED THE ASSISTANCE OF PROF. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] AN EXPERT ON INTERNAT'L LAW, WITH REGARD TO ITS ANSWER TO THE CROWN MEMORANDUM.

DURING THE MEETING, PROF. [REDACTED] OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ^{b6}_{b7c} RESEARCH INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, BRIEFED THE COMMITTEE ON SOME OF THE CURRENT STRATEGY AND OBJECTIVES OF THE INTERNAT'L COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. ACCORDING TO PROF. [REDACTED] THE SOVIETS HAVE NOW
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

CHOSEN AS THEIR BATTLEGROUND THE FIELD OF INTERNAT'L LAW WHERE THEY HOPE TO LEGALLY JUSTIFY NATIONAL LIBERATION WARS AND AT THE SAME TIME DECLARE AS ILLEGAL ANY MUTUAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS SUCH AS UNITED STATES AID TO SOUTH VIETNAM. PROF. [] ADDED THAT AT THE PRESENT TIME WE ARE IN WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS A POST-NUCLEAR WAR PERIOD IN THAT UNITED STATES STRENGTH IN NUCLEAR ARMAMENT INHIBITED THE SOVIETS FROM PROCEEDING IN ACCETED PATTERNS OF WARFARE. THE CURRENT SOVIET OUTLET FOR COMMUNIST EXPANSION, ACCORDING TO PROF. [] IS THE NATIONAL WAR OF LIBERATION. IN VIEW OF THIS NEW THREAT OF THE SOVIETS IN THE INTERNAT'L LAW FIELD, THE COMMITTEE GAVE CONSIDERATION TO A THREE-YEAR PROJECT FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE SCHOLARLY INTEREST IN OPPOSING SOVIET EFFORTS. THE COMMITTEE INTENDS TO ENLIST THE BEST AVAILABLE INTERNAT'L LAW SCHOLARS IN ITS EFFORT TO COUNTER THE SOVIETS AND TO CALL ATT'N TO THE SOVIET EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD.

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THE COMMITTEE ALSO DISCUSSED ITS BRIEFING SESSION WHICH IS TO BE HELD FOR BENEFIT OF HOUSE OF DELEGATES ON MONDAY EVENING. PERTINENT HIGHLIGHTS OF LATER PROCEEDINGS WILL BE SUBMITTED.

~~END - CORR PAGE 3 LINE 16 WD 2 SHD BE MC DOUGAL~~

WA... LLD

FBI WASH DC

T CLR

CC - Messrs. Felt + H.L. Edwards

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

HARDIE, GRAMBLING, SIMS & GALATZAN

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW

THIRD FLOOR, EL PASO NATURAL GAS COMPANY BUILDING

EL PASO, TEXAS 79901

March 2, 1966

THORNTON HARDIE
ALLEN R. GRAMBLING
HAROLD L. SIMS
MORRIS A. GALATZAN
WILLIAM B. HARDIE
JOHN A. GRAMBLING
WILLIAM J. MOUNCE
WILLIAM T. DEFFEBACH
MALCOLM HARRIS

THORNTON HARDIE
9:00 A.M. TO NOON
8TH FLOOR EL PASO NATL. BANK BLDG.
2:00 P.M. TO 5:00 P.M.
3RD FLOOR EL PASO NATURAL GAS CO. BLDG.
TELEPHONE 532-6584
AREA CODE 915

The Honorable Edward W. Kuhn, President
American Bar Association
P.O. Box 123
Memphis, Tennessee 38101

Dear Mr. Kuhn:

As you know, I wrote to you on February 7 concerning the following words in the Fifth Amendment -- "nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself".

I am now in receipt of a letter from Mr. [redacted] your assistant, stating that at the Mid-Year Meeting it was decided to refer this question to the Section of Criminal Law for its consideration.

I would respectfully suggest that the Criminal Law Section is largely composed of lawyers who are customarily engaged in defending persons charged with crime. As all of us know, most persons charged with crime are guilty, and lawyers who are primarily engaged in defending persons charged with crime are most frequently defending persons who are in fact guilty of the crime with which they are charged. In the material which I inclosed in my letter to you it was pointed out, and I am sure you will agree, that the words quoted from the Fifth Amendment afford the greatest obstacle to the successful prosecution and adequate presentation on behalf of the State or the Federal Government of criminal cases.

It is therefore my firm opinion that the suggestions which I made cannot hope to have a fair and impartial consideration by the Section of Criminal Law. If you and your advisors feel that the matters referred to in my letter of February 7, 1966 do not deserve careful consideration at the hands of the American Bar Association, then I will, in deference to your judgment, pursue the matter no further. If, on the other hand, you think that these suggestions do deserve careful study and consideration by the American Bar Association, I would again suggest that you or the House of Delegates consider the appointment of a committee of distinguished lawyers and laymen not dominated by criminal lawyers but having members who do practice criminal law, appointed to consider this question.

REG-88

8 MAR 7 1966

CO-RESPONSE

TEXAS

54 MAR 18 1966

The Honorable Edward W. Kuhn

--2--

March 2, 1966

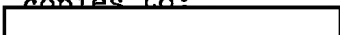
With high personal regards, I am

Yours respectfully.



mjw

copies to:



Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Hon. Orison S. Marden
Hon. Edward E. Murane
Hon. Joseph D. Stecher
Hon. Bert H. Early
Hon. Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
Hon. Richard Bentley
Hon. Nicholas Katzenbach
Hon. Waggoner Carr
Hon. Wm. E. Pool
Harvard Law Review
Texas Law Review

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b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Felt *FW*

FROM : H. L. Edwards *HW*

SUBJECT: AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION MIDYEAR MEETING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS; FEBRUARY 19 - 22, 1966
NEW KEY OFFICERS

DATE: February 25, 1966

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

At the closing session of the American Bar Association Midyear Meeting in Chicago on 2-22-66 the following individuals were either nominated or elected to key positions as indicated below:

1. President-elect Earl F. Morris of Columbus, Ohio, former President of both the Ohio State and Columbus Bar Associations and a past chairman of the National Conference of Bar Presidents, was nominated as President-elect. Morris has been a practicing lawyer in Columbus for the past 30 years and is associated with the firm of Wright, Harlor, Morris, Arnold and Glander. He has served continuously in the American Bar Association's House of Delegates from the Columbus Bar Association from 1952 - 1962, at which time he was elected to a third term as a member of the Board of Governors of the Association. As is customary, Morris will be formally elected to the position of President-elect at the forthcoming annual meeting of the American Bar Association in Montreal, Canada, on August 8, 1966. Review of Bureau files reflects no pertinent information identifiable with Earl F. Morris.

2. Treasurer of the American Bar Association Joseph H. Gordon of Tacoma, Washington, was re-elected for a second term. Mr. Gordon was introduced to the Director on 5-22-63 when he and Mrs. Louise Child, Assistant to the Editor-in-Chief of the American Bar Association Journal, took a special tour and requested to meet the Director. They were photographed with the Director and autographed prints were sent to both. They were highly complimentary of the Director and the tour afforded them. Gordon is currently on the Bureau's Special Correspondents Mailing List.

3. Secretary of the American Bar Association was chosen for a fourth term. He is a young attorney and has been very prominent in the Junior Bar Conference. He communicated with the Bureau in January, 1960, to request cooperation in connection with a placement service for young lawyers seeking Government employment which the Junior Bar Conference was sponsoring. The Bureau cooperated with this program and has derived benefits from it.

ENCLOSURES (3) *sent 2-23-66*

- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

BLH:mbk *W*

55 MAR 15 1966

(RECOMMENDATIONS - NEXT PAGE)

Memorandum to Mr. Felt
Re: American Bar Association Midyear Meeting
Chicago, Illinois; February 19 - 22, 1966
New Key Officers

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That letters of congratulation over the Director's signature be sent to each of these individuals whose addresses are as follows: Honorable Earl F. Morris, Wright, Harlor, Morris, Arnold and Glander, Huntington Bank Building, Columbus, Ohio 43215; Honorable Joseph H. Gordon, Puget Sound Bank Building, Tacoma, Washington 98402; and [redacted] Bank of the Southwest Building, Houston, Texas 77002. (If approved, to be handled by the Crime Records Division.) ATTACHED.

*Let's to
Gordon + Morris
2/21/66
DFC: cmc*

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W/38*

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2. It is further recommended that the names of Earl F. Morris and [redacted] be added to the Bureau's Special Correspondents' Mailing List.

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*GL:
D*

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PPH

W/38

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*See (names)
Mailing List
addition
Chicago Noted
2-28-66 J*

u

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 21 1966

FBI CHICAGO

TELETYPE

102XXX 1012 PM CST DEFERRED 2-21-66 AAA

TO: DIRECTOR

ATTN: INSPECTOR H.L. EDWARDS

FROM: CHICAGO (80-355)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION MID-YEAR MEETING, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,

FEBRUARY NINETEEN THRU TWENTY TWO, SIXTYSIX.

THIS SUMMARIZES PERTINENT INFO CONCERNING MONDAY SESSION,
FEBRUARY TWENTYONE, INSTANT:

HOUSE OF DELEGATES, ABA, CONVENED TEN AM AND AS SPECIAL ORDER
OF BUSINESS UNANIMOUSLY PASSED RESOLUTION OF EBERHARDT DEUTSCH,
CHAIRMAN, WORLD PEACE THROUGH UNITED NATIONS. THIS RESOLUTION
PLACED ABA ON RECORDS AS SUPPORTING UNITED STATES POSITION IN VIET
NAM AS LEGAL. DEUTSCH POINTED OUT IN OFFERING HIS RESOLUTION THAT
LEGAL SCHOLARS, INCLUDING [REDACTED], EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
ASSOC. OF AMERICAN LAW SCHOOLS, AND EDWARD D. RE, CHAIRMAN, INTERNAT'L
AND COMPARATIVE LAW SECT., ABA HAVE SAID UNITED STATES POSITION IS
UNQUESTIONABLY LEGAL NOTWITHSTANDING CRITICISM OF UNITED STATES
POSITION TO THE CONTARY. THE RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED WITH THE RECOM-
MENDATION IT BE IMMEDIATELY FORWARDED TO FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE IN ORDER THAT THIS BODY MIGHT BE AWARE
OF THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF THE ABA.

MR. MOHR FOR THE DIRECTOR

69 MAR 17 1966

REC-31

EX-113

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b7c

94-1-369-2024

MAR 9 1966

PAGE TWO

CG 80-355

JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW REFORM COMMITTEE PROPOSED ACCEPTANCE TWO RESOLUTION PERTAINING TO FEDERAL LEGISLATION REGULATING WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS TO REMEDY EXISTING ABUSES. THESE TWO RESOLUTION WERE RETURNED TO COMMITTEE AFTER DEBATE. SAME COMMITTEE PROPOSED ENACTMENT REGARDING COMPULSORY RETIREMENT OF CHIEF JUSTICES AT AGE SIXTYSIX. JUSTICES COULD RETAIN JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS BUT NOT ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS OF CHIEF JUSTICES. WOULD NOT TAKE EFFECT FOR FIVE YRS... AFTER PASSAGE. MOTION ADOPTED.

AT SPECIAL BRIEFING SESSION BEFORE THE ABA HOUSE OF DELEGATES THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AGAINST COMMUNISM PRESENTED DR. RICHARD V. ALLEN, CHAIRMAN OF THE STUDY PROGRAM ON COMMUNISM, THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY. DR. ALLEN GAVE A TALK CONCERNING WARS OF "NATIONAL LIBERATION." DURING TALK ALLEN SAID THAT TODAY IN AFRICA THERE IS STRONG RESENTMENT AGAINST THE WEST; IN LATIN AMERICA THERE IS GROWING ANTI-AMERICANISM; IN ASIA THERE IS ARMED CONFLICT AND OPPRESSION; IN THE UNITED STATES THERE IS SOCIAL AND RACIAL UNREST AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD THERE IS A GROWING PEACE MOVEMENT BASED UPON UNREALISTIC AND UTOPIAN HOPES. DR. ALLEN SAID THE COMMUNISTS INTEND TO USE ALL OF THIS DISCORD AGAINST US.

PAGE THREE

CG 80-355

DR. ALLEN CONCLUDED HIS TALK BY STATING "WE CAN WIN ANY BATTLE WITH ANY ADVERSARY IF WE MAKE THE DECISION TO COMMIT OUR UNMATCHED STRENGTH AND OUR OWN REVOLUTIONARY IDEALS TO WINNING WHEN AND WHERE IT COUNTS; THIS WILL BE DONE IF WE STEER THE PATH OF REALISM AND AVOID THE TWIN DANGERS OF COMPLACENCY AND UNFOUNDED OPTIMISM."

[REDACTED] PROFESSOR OF INTERNAT'L AFFAIRS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, ALSO ADDRESSED BRIEFING SESSION PRESENTED BY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AGAINST COMMUNISM. [REDACTED] ADDRESSED HIS REMARKS TO THE SOUTHEAST ASIA SITUATION DURING WHICH TIME HE SAID THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION THAT COMMUNIST CHINA'S LONG RANGE OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN AND IS THE ACQUISITION OF ASIAN TERRITORY. IT WILL USE AS MEANS OF ACHIEVING THIS GOAL: ONE, ITS THREAT OF MASSIVE MILITARY FORCES; TWO, FORMERLY TRUE AND LATER FANCIED CLAIMS OF TRIBUTARY RELATIONS; THREE, COMMUNIST TACTICS OF SUBVERSION, INFILTRATION, GUERRILLA WARFARE AND WARFARE-BY-PROXY, ELEMENTS IN WHAT IS CALLED "WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION." [REDACTED] SAID THAT ONE CONSTANT PART OF THIS OVERALL OBJECTIVE IS PEKING'S DRIVE TOWARD THE ACQUISITION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA [REDACTED] SAID THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

b6
b7C

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b7C

PAGE FOUR

CG 80-355

STUDY THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF WAR, A STUDY WHICH IN OUR COUNTRY IS NOT POPULAR. MAO HAS BUILT ON AND DEVELOPED LENINIST THEORY OF WAR AND HAS CONCENTRATED ON WHAT WE VARIOUSLY CALL SUB-LIMITED OR GUERRILLA OR INSURGENCY WARFARE.

b6
b7C

[] ALSO SAID THE COMMUNIST CHINESE (MAOIST) DOCTRINE OR THEORY IS BEING USED IN VIETNAM, LAOS, AND ELSEWHERE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. [] CONCLUDED THAT EVEN THOUGH THE BATTLE IS IN VIETNAM, THE ULTIMATE COMMUNIST GOAL IS THE DESTRUCTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND OUR WAY OF LIFE.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES ADJOURNED THIS PM AND WILL RECONVENE TUES AM, AFTER WHICH FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS WILL BE REPORTED.

END

WA...JMS

FBI WASH DC

TUX

cc- Mr. Felt
Mr. Edwards.

EARL F. MORRIS

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Wick ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

1218 Huntington
Columbus, Ohio

March 7, 1966

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

It was thoughtful of you to write me extending your congratulations on my nomination as President-Elect of the American Bar Association and I am extremely grateful to you.

I am aware of the honor that has been done me but I likewise recognize the responsibilities that it carries with it. I shall try fully to discharge these responsibilities.

As a result of my service in the House of Delegates and on the Board of Governors of the Association I have known at first hand of the excellent cooperation that there has been between your Bureau and the Association. It is my sincere hope that we may achieve the same type of cooperation during my administration.

Sincerely yours,

Earl F. Morris

EFM/eye

EX-114

Earl F. Morris

PERSONAL

69 MAR 28 1966

EXP. PROC.

MAR 9 1966

REC-26

94-1-349-2025

18 MAR 18 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: March 18, 1966

FROM : W. M. Felt

SUBJECT:

AND DAUGHTER,
REQUEST FOR SPECIAL TOUR

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Stanton

b6
b7C

On 3-17-66 [redacted] telephoned Inspector H. L. Edwards from Chicago. She is secretary to Morris I. Leibman, Chairman of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism, and serves as Administrative Assistant to the committee.

[redacted] is a great admirer of the Bureau and on 2-7-66 she wrote to express her thanks for a tour of the Chicago Office which had been arranged for her daughter and several other Girl Scouts. The letter was cordially acknowledged by the Director on 2-14-66.

[redacted] indicated that she, her husband, [redacted] and her daughter, [redacted] would arrive in Washington the weekend of 3-26-66 and would be staying at the Mayflower Hotel. She said the three of them would deeply appreciate a tour of FBI headquarters Monday morning, 3-28-66, and if at all possible would greatly appreciate shaking hands with Mr. Hoover. The three of them will come to my office (Room 5256) at 10:30 a.m. on Monday, 3-28-66. Bureau indices are negative on the [redacted]

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b7C

RECOMMENDATIONS:

American Bar Association

1. That a special tour of the Bureau be set up for the [redacted]

*Spec. Tour Handled on
3/28/66 Terefenko*

REC-14 94-1-364-2026

3 MAR 23 1966

2. That in view of the Director's heavy schedule it is recommended the Director not take time to see them and that regrets be expressed.

1 - Miss Holmes
1 - Tour Room
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
HLE:mbk

54 MAR 29 1966

OK

*3/22
Notice
3/25/66
W*

CORRESPONDENCE

JEAN DOLAN TRAVEL SERVICE
1699 LOCKETT PLACE
MADISON AT BELVEDERE
225-4454 MEMPHIS, TENN. 38104
REVISED ITINERARY

January 4, 1965

Wednesday March 30 Lv Memphis 9:16AM DAL Flt. 836F
Ar Chicago 11:30AM
Lv Chicago 3:05PM NWA Flt. 7F
Ar Seattle 5:11PM
Lv Seattle 7:00PM NWA Flt. 77F
Ar Anchorage 8:05PM
Hotel Anchorage-Westward - twin bedroom with bath

Thursday March 31 Lv Anchorage 3:00PM NWA Flt. 3F
Cross International Date Line - lose a day

Friday April 1 Ar Tokyo 5:22PM
Hotel reserved through friends

Saturday April 2 through
Monday April 4 In Tokyo
imperial Hotel

Tuesday April 5 Lv Tokyo 10:30AM JAL Flt. 731F
Ar Hong Kong 1:40PM
Mandarin Hotel - suite

Wednesday April 6 In Hong Kong

Thursday April 7 Lv Hong Kong 19:00PM 7:00pm QF Flt. 754F
Friday April 8 Ar Sydney 8:25AM
Hotel Chevron - suite

Saturday April 9
Sunday April 10 in Sydney

Monday April 11 Lv Sydney 11:00AM TEAL Flt. 874F
Ar Christchurch 15:45PM 3:45pm
Lv Christchurch 18:55PM 6:55pm NZ Flt. 407T
Ar Dunedin 19:55PM 7:55pm

Tuesday April 12 through
Thursday April 14 In Dunedin - hotel reserved through convention

Friday April 15 Lv Dunedin 8:15AM NZ Flt. 402T
Ar Auckland 11:40AM
Hotel requested through airline - *Royal International*

Saturday April 16 Lv Auckland 10:15AM TEAL Flt. 500Y
Cross International Date Line - gain a day

Friday April 15 Ar Honolulu 22:00PM 10:00pm
Hotel Royal Hawaiian - twin bedroom with bath

Saturday April 16
Sunday April 17 In Honolulu

ENCLOSURE

94-1-369-2027

6 pages
copies 3-1566

Page 2

Monday	April 18	Lv Honolulu	2:55PM	UAL Flt. 16F
		Ar Los Angeles	9:50PM	
		International Hotel - twin bedroom with bath		
Tuesday	April 19	Lv Los Angeles	10:30AM	AAL Flt. 22F
		Ar Memphis	3:38PM	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 3/9/66

FROM : SAC, Memphis (80-238)

SUBJECT: EDWARD W. KUHN
PRESIDENT
AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

The writer was in contact with Mr. KUHN on the morning of 3-9-66, in connection with other matters, and he advised that he was travelling to the Orient. The enclosed itinerary is submitted. It is recommended that the Bureau advise the Anchorage and Honolulu Divisions, as well as the Legal Attache in Tokyo, as to Mr. KUHN's itinerary.

It should be noted that Mr. KUHN made no specific request but he was informed by the writer that in the event there were any problems he should get in touch with our respective field offices or the Legal Attache in Tokyo.

It is believed that it would be worthy of consideration that the offices and the Legal Attache at Tokyo be requested to pay the Bureau's respects to Mr. KUHN, who is a very good friend of the FBI.

H. L. Edwards

2 Bureau. (Enc. 1)

1 Memphis

EHW:BN

(3)

1- ENCLOSURE

2 ~~per~~ copies 3-14-66
Airtel to SACs: Anchorage,
Honolulu

LEGAT: Tokyo
3-15-66
DFC/cms

REC-133

94-1-369-2027

18 MAR 11 1966

LINE

CRIME RECORDS
F. O'S



3-15-66

airtel

To: SACs: Anchorage - Enclosures (2)
Honolulu - Enclosures (2)
LEGAT: Tokyo - Enclosures (2)

From: Director, FBI

EDWARD W. KUHN
PRESIDENT

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE AND TOURS)

TEAM

ILL.

WASH.

HAWAII

CALIF.

ALASKA

JAPAN

HONGKONG

NEW ZEALAND

AUSTL

Enclosed for recipient offices are two copies of captioned individual's itinerary.

You should contact Mr. Kuhn and extend the customary courtesies of your office.

1 - Foreign Liaison Section - Enclosures (2)

1 - Inspector H. L. Edwards - Enclosures (2)

NOTE: Mr. Kuhn is on the Special Correspondents' List.

DFC:cms

(15)

MAILED 4

MAR 15 1966

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

55 APR 14 1966

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Secretary
Gibson Gayle, Jr.
Bank of the Southwest Building
Houston 2, Texas

Assistant Secretary
Wm. Reece Smith, Jr.
Box 3239
Tampa 1, Florida

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

1155 East 60th, Chicago, Illinois 60637

Telephone (312) 493-0533

March 14, 1966

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of February 28, extending congratulations on my nomination to a fourth term as Secretary of the American Bar Association. It is always an honor to hear from you. We in the American Bar Association continue to be proud of the remarkably competent job you are doing for the citizens of the United States.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



GG:ob

Bank of the Southwest Building
Houston 2 TEXAS

REC-107

94-1-369-2028

22

MAR 17 1966

53 MAR 29 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

38
EXP-PROC
MAR 17 1966
b6
b7C

March 2, 1966

REC-133

94-1-369-2029

Honorable Morris I. Leibman
Leibman, Williams, Bennett,
Baird and Minow
208 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Dear Mr. Leibman:

I have received your letter of February 24th
enclosing a copy of the 1966 Midyear Report of the Standing
Committee on Education Against Communism.

It was certainly thoughtful of you to make
this available to me, and I will be interested in reviewing it.

Sincerely yours,

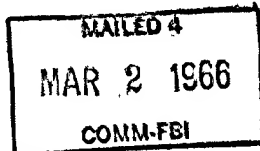
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Mr. Leibman is on the Special Correspondents' List.

KLS:emm/par

(3)

12/8/HHK



Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

APR 1 1966

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Inspector H. J. Edwards

CHAIRMAN
Morris I. Leibman
208 S. LaSalle St.
Chicago, Ill. 60604

Standing Committee on Education Against Communism

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

1155 East 60th, Chicago, Illinois 60637

Telephone (312) 493-0533

February 24, 1966

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Buster Cole
Bonham, Tex.
H. Lynn Edwards
Washington, D. C.
Charles S. Maddock
Wilmington, Del.
John G. McKay, Jr.
Miami, Fla.
Raymond W. Miller
Washington, D. C.
William C. Mott
Washington, D. C.
Louis B. Nichols
New York, N. Y.
Mario T. Noto
Washington, D. C.
Samuel J. Powers, Jr.
Miami, Fla.
Jackson A. Wright
Columbia, Mo.
CONSULTING COUNSEL
B. P. Atterbury
New York, N. Y.
CONSULTING PROGRAM MANAGER
Frank R. Barnett
New York, N. Y.
RESEARCH ASSISTANT
Dorothy E. Nicolosi
Bronx, N. Y.
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR,
COMMITTEE SERVICES
Mary H. Manoni
American Bar Center
Chicago, Ill. 60637

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

To continue to keep you informed on the activities of our Committee, I am enclosing a copy of our 1966 Midyear Report.

You may find the reference, on page 4, to the expansion of our teacher institute program of particular interest.

With best wishes,

REC-133 94-1-369-2029

Sincerely, ⁸ MAR. 22 1966

M. I. Leibman
Morris I. Leibman

MIL:mj

Enclosure

EXP. PROC.

FEB-25-1966

ENCLOSURE

ack 3-2-66
KLS/amm.

s/KLS

CAUTIONARY NOTE

Only the **RESOLUTION(S)** presented herein, when approved by the House of Delegates, become official policy of the American Bar Association. These are listed under the heading **RECOMMENDATION(S)**. Comments and supporting data listed under the sub-heading **REPORT** are not approved by the House in its voting and represent only the views of the Section or Committee submitting them. Reports containing **NO** recommendations (resolutions) for specific action by the House are merely informative and likewise represent only the views of the Section or Committee.

~~AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION~~~~STANDING COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AGAINST COMMUNISM~~1966 MID-YEAR REPORT

The Committee is continuing to give effect to programs of education on Communist tactics, strategy and objectives, and encourage and support our schools and colleges in the presentation of adequate instruction on the contrast between communism and liberty under law. Our problem remains one of selectivity; the opportunities for quality and effective effort in this field are greater than our current ability and resources.

TEACHER INSTITUTE PROGRAM

As we reported in August, the Committee cooperated with eighteen colleges and universities in the conduct of summer programs to train high school social studies and political science teachers in giving adequate instruction on the contrast between communism and liberty under law. These teacher institutes were held on the following campuses:

Arizona
Colorado
Georgia

Arizona State College, Flagstaff
University of Colorado, Boulder
Georgia Southern/Georgia State, Statesboro

94-1-369-2029

ENCLOSURE

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Illinois	Wheaton College, Wheaton	
Minnesota	University of Minnesota, Minneapolis	
	College of St. Thomas, St. Paul	
Missouri	St. Louis University, St. Louis	
New Jersey	Paterson State College, Wayne	
New Mexico	University of New Mexico, Albuquerque	
North Carolina	Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone	
	East Carolina College, Greenville	
Ohio	John Carroll University, Cleveland	
	Kent State University, Kent	
Oregon	Portland State College, Portland	
Pennsylvania	Freedoms Foundation/George Washington	
	University, Valley Forge	
	Westminster College, New Wilmington	
Tennessee	Vanderbilt University, Nashville	
Texas	Abilene Christian College]	
	Hardin-Simmons University] jointly sponsored	
	McMurray College]	
	Abilene	

Approximately 800 teachers attended these eighteen institutes. For those attending this year, and for those who had attended previous institutes, the Committee provided over 800 copies of the syllabus, the peaceful coexistence study, and "... Freedom Is The Exception", a pamphlet including three lectures by Mr. William C. Sullivan.

In addition, the National Strategy Information Center, Inc. donated over 400 copies of Peace and War in the Modern Age (Doubleday, Anchor edition, 1965), a collection of essays edited by Mr. Frank R. Barnett, the Committee's Consulting Program Manager, Committee member William C. Mott and Mr. John C. Neff. NSIC also provided over 500 copies of an index to sources of films, videotapes, etc., on the subject of communism, and suitable for high school students.

As in previous years, the Committee arranged to provide lecturers for institutes with which we cooperated. Among them were:

Dr. Richard V. Allen, Chairman, Study Program on Communism, The Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University;

Mr. Boudinot P. Atterbury, the Committee's Consulting Counsel, and Project Director for the Committee's new US/USSR Law Contrasts and Conflicts Program;

Mr. Frank R. Barnett, Consulting Program Manager for the Committee; President, National Strategy Information Center, Inc.;

Admiral Arleigh Burke, USN (Ret), Director, The Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University;

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Professor of Economics, Georgetown University;

Dr. Milorad M. Drachkovitch, Senior Staff Member, The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University;

Dr. William Ebenstein, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara;

Mr. Arbor Gray, Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation;

Dr. William R. Kintner, Deputy Director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania;

Mr. Edward W. Kuhn, then President-Elect, American Bar Association;

Mr. Morris I. Leibman, Chairman, ABA Standing Committee on Education Against Communism;

Dr. Raymond W. Miller, Committee Member, Visiting Lecturer, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration;

Rear Admiral William C. Mott, USN (Ret), Committee Member, Executive Vice President, U.S. Independent Telephone Association;

Mr. Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary;

Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer, Professor, Department of Political Science, Notre Dame University;

Dr. Stefan T. Possony, Director, International Studies Program, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University;

Dr. Ewing P. Shahan, Professor of Economics and Business Administration, Vanderbilt University;

Dr. Richard F. Staar, Professor of Political Science, Emory University;

Dr. Rodger Swearingen, Director, Research Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda, University of Southern California;

Dr. Frank N. Trager, Professor of International Affairs, New York University;

Mr. Charles Vetter, Jr., Training Officer for USIA and Peace Corps;

Dr. Richard L. Walker, Director, Institute of International

Expansion of Teacher Institute and Related Campus Programs

The conflict in Asia has focused attention on the Communist concept of "wars of national liberation". The ambiguity of this type of twilight war has resulted in much confusion and public debate over the ethics of U.S. intervention to contain this covert form of Communist aggression; and the obvious need for better understanding of this camouflaged threat to free world security is enhanced by the propaganda capabilities of American Communists who, after long years of isolation, are now reforming popular front coalitions with some elements of the non-Communist left to appeal especially to youth. This poses a new challenge to the Committee.

Because of the generosity of Mrs. Alan M. Scaife and her family in granting the Committee an additional \$75,000, we plan to expand our teacher institute program by:

(1) attempting to increase the number of teacher institutes this summer; (2) providing additional materials; (3) recruiting additional professors; (4) establishing contacts with additional educational organizations; (5) developing student programs to

supplement the institutes; (6) analyzing appropriate structures to insure continuity; (7) researching current issues and their relationship to our basic concepts concerning the contrast between liberty under law and Communist tactics and strategy; (8) researching the debate on current issues on the campus and attempting to determine the facts thereof as they relate to the law society; and (9) holding conferences and seminars with educational leaders.

PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE: A COMMUNIST BLUEPRINT FOR VICTORY

In February 1965 we reported the completion of Dr. Richard V. Allen's study entitled Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory and its initial release in New York City on August 7, 1964 by the then Association President, Judge Walter E. Craig. This study, based on an examination of some 11,000 pages of current Communist literature, shows that "peaceful coexistence", as defined by the Communists, is a strategy designed to increase class struggle, wars of "national liberation", ideological conflict, subversion and guerrilla warfare. Soviet and Red Chinese support for Vietcong terror and Hanoi's aggression against Saigon show that Communist deeds reinforce their words.

This study has been well received by educators and the press in the United States, and our previous three printings, totaling 35,000 copies, were exhausted in October of 1965. The Committee at that time arranged with West Publishing Company for a fourth printing of 5,000 copies, which printing was completed in November 1965.

Two thousand copies of this fourth printing were purchased by Mr. Loren M. Berry, of L. M. Berry & Co., Dayton, Ohio, for distribution to employees of his organization and other interested persons. Mr. Berry had previously purchased and distributed a similar number of copies of Mr. William C. Sullivan's pamphlet " ... Freedom Is The Exception".

In addition, the National Grange asked the Committee to provide a four-installment condensation of this book for publication in their Grange Lecturer's Bulletin, a quarterly

publication distributed to some two hundred thousand Grange members. With the approval of Dr. Allen, Mrs. Mary H. Manoni, the Committee's staff assistant, undertook this condensation and serialization, which was forwarded to the Grange in November 1965. Dr. Allen is preparing an updated version of his continuing study for 1966 publication.

" ... Freedom Is The Exception"

With the authority of the Board of Governors, the Committee published in February 1965 a pamphlet entitled " ... Freedom Is The Exception". This pamphlet contains three lectures given at the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration by Federal Bureau of Investigation Assistant Director William C. Sullivan. Topics covered in the lectures are "Communism and Capitalism", "Communism and Labor", and "Communism and Freedom".

To date we have had two printings of this publication, totaling 30,000 copies. This pamphlet continues to enjoy wide demand from high school students and teachers, church groups and interested citizens.

In addition, the Committee provided over 800 copies of this publication to directors of summer teacher institutes for distribution to the participants of their institutes.

DEMOCRACY CONFRONTS COMMUNISM IN WORLD AFFAIRS

As we reported in August, the first printing of 5,000 copies of the teacher's syllabus Democracy Confronts Communism in World Affairs was completed in June of 1965. During the summer the Committee provided over 800 copies of the syllabus to institute directors for their review and for the selective use of seminar and institute participants.

Of special note was the purchase by the Department of State of a sufficient number of copies of this work for distribution to United States embassies and consulates abroad. These books were sent with the Department of State's suggestion that they become a permanent part of the library maintained by the particular embassy or consulate. The United States Naval Academy requested seven copies for use by their faculty and as a reference item in their library to assist midshipmen in their research on topics associated with Communism.

As we reported to you in August, the Committee is negotiating with commercial publishers for printing, promotion and sale of this publication.

BAR ACTIVITIES AND LAW EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The Committee is continuing to provide seminar-type programs on invitation of state and local Bar Associations, in conjunction with the host bar's annual or otherwise regularly scheduled meeting. In this connection the Chairman recently acted as keynote speaker before the Cincinnati Bar Association.

The Committee and its staff are also continuing to cooperate with State and local Bar Associations supporting teacher training institutes. For example, during this past autumn, the State Bar of Texas and the Colorado Bar Association have both renewed their endorsements of committee-sponsored teacher training institutes located in their states. The Committee's Consulting Counsel, B. P. Atterbury, continues to assist and encourage these and the many other nationwide cooperating local and state committees.

Through its several years of experience with both the educator and Bar Leadership programs, the Committee has become increasingly aware of a need for enlightenment in the contrasting roles of law in the competing social systems exemplified by the United States and the Soviet Union. The Committee has, therefore, undertaken a new project to enlist the aid of leading Soviet and United States law scholars to prepare insights useful to both the teacher training institutes and lawyer-speaker programs. These materials will present, in non-technical and easily understood language, the significant contrasts between United States and Soviet domestic law and the ways in which their international law strategies conflict and compete.

LIAISON WITH OTHER GROUPS

We are continuing our efforts to encourage participation in our programs or in related programs, by other groups and organizations. Last year Northwestern University, in

cooperation with the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges (the Midwestern accrediting association) began a two year experimental project of teacher seminars which will be conducted in nine midwestern states. The Chairman continues to serve as a member of the Advisory Board for this project.

Some of the groups which have worked in close cooperation on various Committee projects are: Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge; Education for Freedom, Inc.; and the Steel Service Center Institute. This latter organization has sponsored several seminars throughout the country, in which our cooperating scholars, Consulting Program Manager, Mr. Barnett, and Committee members have participated.

MEMBERS AND STAFF -- RELATED ACTIVITIES

Members of the Committee and staff continue to be personally involved in a spectrum of related activities. Such commitments are indicative of the individual's concern for the total effort of meeting the Communist challenge.

Mr. Edward W. Kuhn, President of the Association, has followed the precedent established by Bar Presidents since the Committee was formed. We are all grateful for the manner in which he has actively supported the work of our Committee.

The Chairman, Mr. Leibman, continues his activities as a member of President Johnson's panel on International Affairs and National Security; as a Civilian Aide-at-Large to the Secretary of the Army; as a member of the Executive Board of The Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University; and as a Director of Education for Freedom, Inc. in Atlanta, Georgia.

Committee member Buster Cole has devoted much of his time to contacting various school administrators and advisors within the Texas educational system in order to interest them in including courses in comparative political systems in their various curriculums.

Along with Dr. Richard V. Allen, Charles Maddock has been working with representatives of the State Department

of Public Instruction for the State of Delaware in order to develop a program of instruction on Communism for Delaware teachers, utilizing the educational television facilities of the state of Delaware.

John G. McKay, Jr. and Samuel J. Powers, Jr. continue to be extremely active in the parallel committees of both the Dade County and Florida Bar Associations.

During the past summer, Dr. Raymond W. Miller spoke at several teacher institutes, e.g. Freedoms Foundation and Westminster College in New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. In addition he has authored a book We Funny Methodists which takes some telling shots at the Communists.

William C. Mott addressed three seminar meetings during the summer of 1965, at Freedoms Foundation, Appalachian State Teachers College in Boone, North Carolina, and Westminster College in New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, as well as addressing a Centennial Convocation of George Washington University Law School.

Louis Nichols has participated in a number of activities, particularly in connection with Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. He recently delivered a very fine address before the Advertising Club of Baltimore.

Mario Noto is responsible for implementing the program for the Cuban refugees who have been coming into the United States since October 1, 1965. Mr. Noto's basic concern is the impact upon the economy of the various communities and also the assurance of thorough and careful screening to prevent the entry into the United States of subversive elements which could conceivably engage in activities which would be detrimental to our national security.

The Committee's Consulting Program Manager, Frank Barnett, addressed a number of teacher institutes, professional, educational and trade associations, civic clubs and military assemblies. He again served on the summer faculty of the National War College. Additionally, Mr. Barnett chaired a panel on "cold war detente" before the joint student body of

the Industrial College of the Armed Forces and the National War College. Dr. Frank N. Trager, Dr. Richard Walker, Dr. Arnold Wolfers and Dr. William R. Kintner were among the participants. The proceedings of this panel discussion were reported in the July-September 1965 issue of The General Electric Forum.

In addition to his efforts within the Bar Activities and Law Education Program described above, the Committee's Consulting Counsel, B. P. Atterbury, continues to assist the Newark, New Jersey Board of Education's In-Service Training Program for High School Social Studies Teachers and has undertaken related programs in religious and civic organizations attempting to clarify understanding about the free society and its confrontation with Communism.

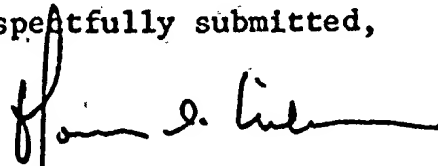
ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCES

Major contributions have been received from Mrs. Alan M. Scaife and her family, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and from the Chichester duPont Foundation of Wilmington, Delaware.

CONCLUSION

The Chairman wishes to again express his sincere appreciation for the continued dedication of every member of the Committee and the Staff. In addition, we are all most indebted to President Kuhn, President-Elect Marden and Chairman of the House of Delegates, Mr. Edward Murane, for their support of our program.

Respectfully submitted,



Morris I. Leibman
Chicago, Illinois
Chairman

FEBRUARY 1966

Buster Cole	Bonham, Texas
H. Lynn Edwards	Washington, D. C.
Charles S. Maddock	Wilmington, Delaware
John G. McKay, Jr.	Miami, Florida
Raymond W. Miller	Washington, D. C.
William C. Mott	Washington, D. C.
Louis B. Nichols	New York, New York
Mario T. Noto	Washington, D. C.
Samuel J. Powers, Jr.	Miami, Florida
Jackson A. Wright	Columbia, Missouri

94-1-369-2029
ENCLOSURE

April 5, 1966

Honorable Morris I. Leibman
Chairman
American Bar Association's
Standing Committee on Education
Against Communism
208 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

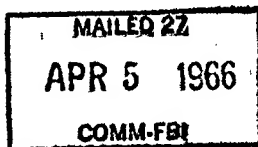
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Dear Mr. Leibman:

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

Hearty congratulations to you and the members
of your committee on receiving a Vigilant Patriot Award for
your 1965 Education Program. Your outstanding work in
encouraging school programs showing the contrast between
communism and the American way of life certainly merits
this recognition, and my associates and I are most appreciative
of your efforts.

Sincerely yours,



- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Mr. Leibman is on the Special Correspondents' List. See
memorandum from Felt to Mr. Tolson dated 4-4-66 under caption
"All-American Conference to Combat Communism; Luncheon Meeting,
Saturday, 4-2-66, Washington, D. C."

GEM:mel (9)

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DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

REC-47

EX-107

69 APR 11 1966

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

19 APR 6 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/4/66

FROM : SAC, ANCHORAGE (80-0-493)

SUBJECT: EDWARD W. KUHN
PRESIDENT, AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION
RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE and TOURS)

ReBuairtel dated 3/15/66.

Mr. KUHN was met by SAC and several members of the Judiciary and the American Bar Association at the airport. He expressed appreciation for various courtesies extended him during his stay in Anchorage.

② - Bureau
1 - Anchorage
BDA/val
(3)

REC 1374-1-369-2031

16 APR 11 1966

No ack necessary
F-WTB

CORRESPONDENCE

51 APR 15 1966



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Felt *FW*

FROM : H. L. Edwards *HW*

SUBJECT: AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING
MONTREAL, CANADA; AUGUST 8 - 12, 1966

DATE: April 5, 1966

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise that the American Bar Association's Annual Meeting is scheduled for Montreal, Canada, August 8 through 12, 1966, and to obtain authorization for Bureau representation.

The Annual Meeting is one which has always been covered by two Seat of Government representatives, this being essential because of the size of the meeting and the fact that various committee and section meetings and programs which the Bureau is interested in, and some of which the Bureau has actual membership in, are held simultaneously so that there is considerable overlapping making it impossible for one representative to participate in all of the essential functions. Additionally, since the meeting is in Montreal, we have the disadvantage of not being located in a field office headquarters city where we could call upon qualified personnel of that field office to assist.

I should attend as the Bureau's official liaison representative and as an officer of the Council of the Criminal Law Section and a member of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism. Heretofore I have been assisted at the annual meetings by SA Supervisor [redacted]. He is now assigned to the Domestic Intelligence Division since he completed his year as a Permanent Aide on the Inspection Staff. He is thoroughly familiar with coverage of the annual meeting and also is an expert in the work of the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism and has been given special authorization by that Committee's Chairman to substitute for me when there is a conflict. Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan stated that he would be willing to make [redacted] available for the annual meeting.

APR 21 1966

It is desirable now to receive authorization now for Bureau representation at the August meeting in view of the necessity for registering and the difficulty in obtaining hotel accommodations.

RECOMMENDATION: That authority be given for SA Supervisor [redacted] and me to represent the Bureau at the August, 1966 Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association in Montreal, Canada. Upon approval, this memorandum should be returned to the Inspection Division for necessary action.

53 APR 22 1966
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. DeLoach
HLE:mbk (5)

APR 12 1966
PERS. REC. UNIT

CHAIRMAN
Morris I. Leibman
208 S. LaSalle St.
Chicago, Ill. 60604

Buster Cole
Bonham, Tex.
H. Lynn Edwards
Washington, D. C.
Charles S. Maddock
Wilmington, Del.
John G. McKay, Jr.
Miami, Fla.
Raymond W. Miller
Washington, D. C.
William C. Mott
Washington, D. C.
Louis B. Nichols
New York, N. Y.
Mario T. Noto
Washington, D. C.
Samuel J. Powers, Jr.
Miami, Fla.
Jackson A. Wright
Columbia, Mo.

CONSULTING COUNSEL
B. P. Atterbury
New York, N. Y.

CONSULTING PROGRAM MANAGER
Frank R. Barnett
New York, N. Y.

RESEARCH ASSISTANT
Dorothy E. Nicolosi
Bronx, N. Y.

ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR,
COMMITTEE SERVICES
Mary H. Manoni
American Bar Center
Chicago, Ill. 60637

Standing Committee on Education Against Communism

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

1120 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 Tel. (202) 337-8266

Chairman
MORRIS I. Leibman

April 9, 1966

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

0 American BAR Association

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On behalf of the Committee, as well as myself,
may I express my deep appreciation of your kind words of
commendation.

It is only through the support and encouragement
of you, and people like you, that the work of our Committee
has been possible.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
Morris I. Leibman

MIL:m

EX-112

REC 33

94-1-369-2033

146
57 APR 25 1966

11 APR 13 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

EXP. PROC.
38 APR 13 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
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TO : MR. FELT *fr*

DATE: March 30, 1966

FROM : H. L. EDWARDS *HW*

SUBJECT: *BB* AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION CRIMINAL JUSTICE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE POLICE FUNCTION MEETING, NEW YORK CITY, 6/24-25/66;

AMERICAN LAW INSTITUTE MEETING ON MODEL CODE OF PREARRAIGNMENT PROCEDURE, WASHINGTON, D. C., 5/17-18/66

I have been advised by Judge Richard B. Austin, Chairman of the American Bar Association's Criminal Justice Advisory Committee on the Police Function, that a meeting of his committee has been scheduled for 6/24-25/66 at the Westbury Hotel in New York City. The agenda will include further discussion of the American Law Institute's Model Code of Prearrestment Procedure and Judge Austin indicates that the U.S. Supreme Court will also perhaps have decided the Escobedo type cases pending before it and these will have an important bearing on certain aspects of the model code. Judge Austin is anxious to be advised of my availability so that reservations can be made. I have no conflicting commitments for those two dates (Friday and Saturday).

Judge Austin also advises that our committee members have been invited to attend the meeting of the American Law Institute at Washington, D. C., 5/17-18/66 at which time the current draft of the Model Code of Prearrestment Procedure will be discussed, and further that members of our committee will receive the privilege of taking the floor for the purpose of discussion. He is anxious for as many members of the committee as are available to attend these discussions.

These discussions of the model code will be of great interest to the Bureau. However, I have a conflict inasmuch as I am already scheduled to attend the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Attorneys General in Cleveland, Ohio, 5/15-19/66. The thought occurred to me that in view of the extreme interest of the subject matter covered by the model code to the Bureau, I might be able to obtain authority to have a "proxy" represent me. I think an Agent Supervisor from the Legal Research Desk, Training Division, would be an ideal substitute because of their intimate familiarity with the areas covered by the model code. Assistant Director Casper has no objection in the event the Bureau would approve my seeking authority for a substitute to attend. Mr. Casper advises that Inspector Dwight J. Dalbey is scheduled for National Academy lectures 5/18-20 but Supervisor John B. Hotis or Inspector [redacted] would be available. If the Bureau agrees with this suggestion, I will communicate with Judge Austin and/or the other appropriate people who could give this authority.

1 - Mr. Casper 1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Wick 1 - Mr. DeLoach

HLE:wmj (6)

53 APR 27 1966

CONTINUED - OVER

REC 20

APR 18 1966

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-21594-

Memo for Mr. Felt

Re: ABA Criminal Justice Advisory Committee
on the Police Function Meeting, NYC, 6/24-25/66

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That I be authorized to confirm my availability for the June 24-25, 1966, meeting of the American Bar Association's Advisory Committee on the Police Function scheduled for New York City. (Upon approval, this memorandum should be returned to me for confirmation to Judge Austin.)

2. That in view of my unavailability for the Washington, D. C., American Law Institute's model code meeting, 5/17-18/66, that I be authorized to endeavor to obtain approval for a Special Agent Supervisor from the Legal Research Unit of the Training Division to substitute for me as the Bureau's representative. (Upon approval, this memorandum should be returned to me for appropriate action.)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/15/66

FROM : LEGAT, TOKYO (80-2)

SUBJECT: EDWARD W. KUHN
President
American Bar Association
RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE & TOURS)

ReBuairtel 3/15/66.

Mr. Kuhn was contacted during his stop in Japan and assistance and courtesies of the office extended. Mr. Kuhn was very appreciative of the offer and observed that while he had no immediate needs, it was most comforting to know of the readiness of his friends in the Bureau to assist.

American Bar Association

3-Bureau
(1-Foreign Liaison)
1-Tokyo
HLC:kvw
(4)

REC 20

94-1-369-2035

9 APR 18 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

1/0 ask memo
8-APR

VL 13 4 00 PM '66

19 APR 21 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: March 28, 1966

FROM : W. M. FELT *W*

SUBJECT: ~~AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION'S~~ *O American Bar Association*
STANDING COMMITTEE
ON EDUCATION AGAINST COMMUNISM

**ALL-AMERICAN CONFERENCE TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
LUNCHEON MEETING, SATURDAY, 4/2/66, WASHINGTON, D. C.**

Tolson _____
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As a member of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism, Inspector Edwards has received an invitation to attend a luncheon Saturday, April 2, 1966, at 12:30 PM, in the Washington Hotel, Washington, D. C. The luncheon is sponsored by the All-American Conference to Combat Communism and the American Bar Association's Committee on Education Against Communism is this year's recipient of a Vigilant Patriot Recognition Award which will be presented at the luncheon. Committee Chairman Morris I. Leibman expects to receive the award on behalf of the committee and I am one of four committee members residing in the Washington area who have been invited to attend.

Leibman had dinner with me this morning DC
to have [redacted] is Chairman of the All-American Conference. Bureau indices reflect nothing unfavorable. The All-American Conference to Combat Communism has a number of references in Bureau files, none of which are derogatory. In 1953 this Conference awarded the Director the "Distinguished Service Citation" and two years prior thereto its annual banquet at Philadelphia was addressed by then Assistant Director L. B. Nichols. In 1961, this Conference awarded its "Vigilant Patriot Recognition Award" to the Director which was accepted by Inspector E. C. Kemper on the Director's behalf, the Conference indicating that the award was based on the Director's article, "One Nation's Response to Communism." In 1963, SA Supervisor John M. Reed accepted another "Vigilant Patriot Recognition Award" on behalf of the Director which was based on the Director's article, "How Reds Make Friends with Businessmen." Dealings with this organization have been very cordial.

RECOMMENDATION:

That approval be given for Inspector Edwards to accept the invitation to attend the Saturday luncheon.

- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

HLE:mbke

558 APR 21 1966

REC-81

94-1-369-2036

5 APR 21 1966

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THE RESURGENT KLAN

by

J. Edgar Hoover

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

April 1, 1966

✓

94-1-369-2037 & 378

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DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
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Felt _____
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Sullivan _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

NOTE:

See memo W. C. Sullivan to C. D. DeLoach, 4-1-66, captioned,
"SUGGESTION BY MORRIS I. LEIBMAN FOR ARTICLE ON KLAN,"
RSG:cr.

RSG:cf:dls

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ENCLOSURE

P *Rosen* *WCS* *S*
72 *AS* *722*

April 1, 1966

At 4:30 on the morning of July 11, 1964, on a lonely fog-shrouded highway near Colbert, Georgia, an automobile pulled alongside one being driven by 49-year-old Lemuel A. Penn. Two shotgun blasts were fired, one of which killed Penn instantly. Penn, an Army Reserve Lieutenant Colonel and Negro educator from Washington, D. C., accompanied by two other Negro reservists, was driving home after attending a two-week field officers refresher course at Fort Benning, Georgia. (1)

An exhaustive and intensive investigation was immediately initiated by the FBI. A special squad of 20 Agents was ordered into the Atlanta Division from other field offices. A total of 83 Agents, working round-the-clock, was assigned to the case.

As a result of our investigation, four Klansmen were arrested on August 6, 1964, and charged with a Federal civil rights violation. Some 800 pages containing complete details of the FBI investigation, including interviews of witnesses and the accused, were made available to the State of Georgia for prosecution under the more serious charge of murder. Three of the four were indicted for murder by the State of Georgia. Following a trial, two of the defendants were acquitted on September 4, 1964. One of those indicted has not as yet been tried.

cr

On October 16, 1964, a Federal Grand Jury at Athens, Georgia, returned an indictment charging six men, including the four arrested on August 6, with conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten, and intimidate Negro citizens in the free exercise and enjoyment of rights and privileges secured to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States. This indictment was dismissed by the United States District Court at Athens on December 29, 1964. Following an appeal, the United States Supreme Court, on March 28, 1966, reversed the dismissal and remanded the case to the lower court for action on the indictment. (2)

The Penn case and the shooting of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo near Selma, Alabama, on March 25, 1965, are among the most notorious and highly publicized murders with which Klansmen have been charged. FBI investigation in the Liuzzo case led to the conviction of three Klansmen on Federal civil rights charges.

Klan Long Investigated by FBI

The problem presented by the Klan is not new to the FBI, for our investigative interest in Klan activities dates back to 1921. At that time, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which had been formed in 1915 as a revival of the original Ku Klux Klan--founded in 1865--virtually

dominated all Klan activities. The Klan reached an estimated peak membership of four million in the mid-1920s and existed in practically every state of the Union. (3)

By 1928, however, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had passed its heyday. Thereafter, its membership plummeted rapidly and its influence diminished until, in 1944, it suspended operations and fragmented into a number of independent organizations(4)

The Klan was moribund until May 17, 1954, when the United States Supreme Court prohibited enforced segregation in public schools. The first signs of a rejuvenation of the Klan were observed by the FBI soon afterward, for a special climate of tension developed following this desegregation ruling, which was later accentuated by passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. (5)

While the vast majority of our population accepts the law of the land, a fringe element is totally and openly frustrated and embittered, ready not only to tolerate violence but also to condone it and even to commit it. The Klan has been able to exploit this situation and thereby gain a new lease on life. (6)

The Klan's resurgence has brought its current hard-core membership to over 14,000, plus tens of thousands more inactive members,

supporters, and sympathizers. The heart, strength, and influence of the Klan are and always have been located in the states which comprised the old Confederacy.⁽⁷⁾ However, evidence developed by FBI investigations reveals that, within the past year, there has been a marked increase in Klan organizational and recruiting efforts not only throughout the South but also in northern and midwestern states, including Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

The Klan which the FBI is investigating at the present time is not one unified organization under central control and leadership. On the contrary, the Klan movement today consists of some 14 separate and independent Klan organizations of varying sizes, each going its own way.^(8, 9) The largest Klan is the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which has a hard-core membership of close to 10,000 and accounts for two thirds of the national Klan membership. Its "Imperial Office" is located in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. ^(10, 11)

Promotion of Bigotry and Violence

Although lacking unity of organization, Klan groups are clearly unified in their beliefs and aims. Wrapped in the American flag and hiding behind the Bible, the Klan sanctimoniously strives to depict itself

as a patriotic, Christian, fraternal order dedicated to the preservation of fundamental American ideals, principles, and institutions. (12)

The principal and traditional objective of the Klan, during the century of its infamous existence, has been to espouse the concept of "white supremacy," with the Negro as its main victim. A secondary hate target group is Jews, who are equated with communists. Other traditional target groups of the Klan have been the Catholics and the foreign born. (13)

In its public statements, the Klan alleges that it has banned any unlawful terroristic activities by its members. It claims to be "a strictly law-abiding organization" and asserts that "every member is sworn to uphold the law at all times and to assist officers of the law in preserving peace and order whenever the occasion may arise, and any member violating this oath would be banished forever from the organization." (13A)

But evidence indicates that Klan leaders give only lip service to a policy of nonviolence. (13B)

Since the Klan is designed to appeal to the most vehement prejudices of the most frustrated and vindictive segment of the population, it naturally attracts those individuals with a predilection for violence.

This extremist element feels that violent action is at times necessary and justifiable and sees nothing in the Bible or the Constitution to preclude it. (14) Although Klan leaders may publicly refuse to encourage or condone illegal activities, inflammatory and provocative declarations made by them at secret meetings and in private conversations with other Klansmen have sparked many acts of violence. (15)

The history of the Klan, as disclosed by FBI investigations, is a sordid story of terror and violence. The Klan has provided a cloak for irresponsible and bloodthirsty hoodlums to engage in crimes in the name of morality and justice. FBI investigations over a period of years have grimly documented participation by members of Klan groups in murders, bombings, mutilations, whippings, and abductions. (16)

Atrocities committed by Klansmen are usually conceived and carried out independently by groups of members whose participation in these activities is unknown to the rank-and-file membership. These action groups are generally referred to in Klan circles as "holy terrors," "knock-off squads," "flying squads," "wrecking crews," and "killer squads." They range in size from three to a dozen men and they plan the commission of their lawless acts outside regular Klan meetings. (17)

The propensity for violence on the part of individual Klansmen has become greater in recent years because of the trend toward the acquisition of weapons, ammunition, and explosives. Specific information on the accumulation of weapons of destruction obtained during the course of FBI investigations is promptly furnished to appropriate agencies of the Federal, state, and local governments.

Firearms possessed by Klansmen range from .22 caliber rifles to magnum revolvers, submachine guns, shotguns, and high-powered rifles. FBI sources estimate that 90 per cent of the Klansmen (18) in one state own guns. Many Klansmen personally own large numbers (19) of firearms. One Klan, in addition to possessing an arsenal of weapons, has accumulated a quantity of fuses, dynamite caps, and other materials (20) for making dynamite bombs.

Many members of the Klan have secured permits in order to legalize their possession of such weapons. But laws pertaining to owning and carrying firearms, which vary from state to state, bother few, if any, Klansmen, and weapons are illegally carried (21) by them.

Individual klaverns (local units) have arranged firearms training for their members, and some Klan groups have given instructions to their members in the use of explosives and incendiary devices. The Klan also has shown an interest in having its members engage in military and other special training. Several Klan groups have held weekly judo sessions, and some have conducted karate instruction. (22)

Threats and Intimidation

In addition to terroristic acts, the Klan has traditionally resorted to threats of violence in order to intimidate its victims and advance its aims. The fiery cross is undoubtedly the Klan's most widely known and dramatic symbol of threat and intimidation. There have been numerous instances of cross burnings on the lawns of homes of individuals who favor integration, who have been responsible for some act of integration, or who have been adjudged "guilty" of some personal misconduct or transgression in the eyes of the Klan. (23) Depending on the circumstances, such cross burnings may of themselves constitute violations of laws under the FBI's jurisdiction, in which case they are promptly investigated. Of course, these acts may also violate local laws.

The most familiar public Klan activity is the rally, usually held in a cow pasture at the fall of darkness and featuring a blazing cross. (24) In addition to rallies, other public activities engaged in by the Klan include picketings, boycotts, motorcades, streetwalks, distribution of literature, and the like. These activities have several objectives, among which are the promulgation of the idea of "white supremacy," intimidation, publicity, and the recruiting of new members and sympathizers. (25)

Caliber of Leaders and Members

Investigation by the FBI has determined that Klan leaders are opportunistic, unscrupulous, and ruthless men who are constantly seeking power and vying with each other for leadership and control of the various Klans. The fact is that each Klan organization is virtually a one-man dictatorship. (26)

Membership in the Klan is restricted to "native-born, white, Protestant, American citizens of at least 18 years of age who believe in the tenets of the Christian religion." (27)

Women and youth have been incorporated into the Klan as auxiliary groups, although these groups meet and function separately from the main organization. However, women do attend, participate, and speak at public rallies held by Klan organizations. (28)

Generally speaking, FBI investigations reveal that most Klan leaders and members have limited education, have extremely narrow outlooks and interests, and are handicapped in making sound value judgments. They were born and have lived most of their lives in communities in which racial prejudice is deep-seated. Their lack of status apparently makes Klansmen feel inadequate, discontented, frustrated, and vindictive. They take refuge in a contrived world of their own--the Klan--with its symbolic costumes, mysterious titles, flamboyant ceremony, clandestine activities, and shared hatreds. (29)

The "Invisible Empire"

The secret world of the Klan consists of the so-called "Invisible Empire," which is geographically coextensive with the United States, even though none of the current Klans has members in more than a third of the states. The "Invisible Empire" is under the domain of the "Imperial Wizard." A "Realm" covers a state and is under the control of a "Grand Dragon." Each local Klan, or klavern, is headed by an "Exalted Cyclops." (30)

Klavern meetings--called "Klonklaves"--are closed to all except members and visiting Klansmen. These meetings are conducted according to a procedure outlined in the "Kloran," the Klan manual. (31)

Even in the hidden world of the Klan, money is a necessity. Klans are dependent for funds upon initiation fees, membership dues, collections at public rallies, donations from members and sympathizers, and the sale of robes. (32)

FBI coverage of Klan organizations has disclosed that misappropriation of funds by Klan officers and members is not an uncommon occurrence. One klavern was disturbed to learn, following the departure of the Exalted Cyclops from the area for the summer, that its treasury had been depleted. The exact sum abstracted could not be ascertained, because the Exalted Cyclops had also taken the klavern's account books. (33)

Although the Klan professes to be a patriotic and respectable organization, it makes wide use of cover names or front organizations as a facade behind which it carries on its activities. (34) The Klan has sponsored and scheduled public affairs under such covers as improvement associations, historical societies, and civic clubs. Many klaverns, to conceal their Klan affiliation, have used men's clubs, rifle clubs, and hunting and fishing clubs as camouflage. (35)

It has become standard practice for the Klan to use security guards--sometimes called "klavalliers"--at public rallies. The function of these guards is to maintain order and prevent outsiders from infiltrating and disrupting Klan proceedings. These guards also direct traffic and protect the Imperial Wizard and other officials at Klan gatherings. (36)

FBI Countermeasures

Cognizant that every subversive phase of Klan activities must be investigated in the interest of the safety, security, and welfare of all our citizens, the FBI has penetrated these Klan organizations with highly qualified sources ranging from rank-and-file Klan members to individuals who are in a position to have access to Klan plans and policies. Often at great personal risk, these patriotic sources furnish valuable information on a continuing basis. As a consequence, widespread FBI coverage of Klan activities has, over the years, been responsible for the solution of crimes committed by Klansmen. (37)

It was FBI coverage of the Klan, for example, which led to the swift identification and apprehension of the Klansmen charged with the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo. The solution of a series of bombings and burnings of some two dozen homes and churches in the McComb, Mississippi, area during the Summer of 1964 was based on information supplied by a source of the FBI. As a result, ten Klansmen entered pleas of guilty or nolo contendere to local charges in state court. (38)

In January, 1965, two automobiles owned by Negroes engaged in civil rights activity and a mortuary owned by a Negro in New Bern, North Carolina, were dynamited. Investigation ascertained that three

white men were implicated, one of whom had been named Exalted Cyclops of the New Bern klavern of the United Klans seven months before. As a result of arrangements made between the Department of Justice and State authorities, Federal charges were dismissed and the results of the FBI investigation were made available to local authorities for prosecution under State laws. The three defendants entered pleas of guilty and received suspended prison sentences. (39)

The Klan and the Law

FBI investigations of Klan organizations and their activities are, of course, strictly limited under law. The FBI investigates those organizations which advocate, condone, or incite the use of force or violence to deny others their rights guaranteed under the Constitution. In these investigations, the FBI seeks facts which can be made available to the Department of Justice so that a determination can be made as to whether or not Klan organizations or their members have violated any Federal laws. The FBI also investigates acts of intimidation and violence committed by Klansmen as substantive violations of civil rights statutes.

The FBI does not have jurisdiction in civil disturbances except in cases where subversive influences are at work or violations of civil rights or other Federal statutes within our jurisdiction are involved. The FBI does, however, follow racial situations from an intelligence viewpoint, and all pertinent information received concerning conditions and the organizations involved is disseminated to interested Government officials and agencies.

Several southern states have freely granted corporate charters to one or more Klan organizations. On the other hand, laws against terroristic activities--such as those resorted to by the Klan--have been enacted in the majority of the states in the South. Most southern states have antimasking statutes, and most of them have laws of one type or another regulating or prohibiting cross burnings. Many municipalities have similar laws. (40)

The FBI is a fact-finding agency. As such, the results of our investigations are regularly furnished to the Department of Justice and to interested Federal, state, and local authorities. The immediate dissemination of this information to the appropriate law enforcement agencies having the responsibility of maintaining law and order undoubtedly serves to prevent instances of violence which would otherwise occur.

It must be emphasized that the FBI is not a national police force. As the investigative arm of the Department of Justice, the FBI's jurisdiction is restricted. The FBI cannot, for instance, assume the role of protective bodyguard to any citizen or group of citizens. It cannot assume the task of enforcing state and local laws.

Public Responsibility

The enforcement of state and local laws affecting Klan organizations and their members constitutes a very real and continuing problem. It varies from area to area. In many localities where the Klan exists, enforcement ranges from indifference or laxity to outright disregard of illegal activities of Klansmen. This is due to the fact that in these areas, there are people who share the "white supremacist" views of the Klan. While they may not join the Klan or render positive assistance to it, they tolerate the Klan and do little or nothing to interfere with its activities. Crimes committed by Klansmen are condoned or overlooked. Derelictions on the part of local authorities may in themselves constitute civil rights violations and when they do, they are investigated by the FBI.

Thus, the continued existence of the Klan is aided and abetted by a deep-seated and persistent tolerance of and indifference to Klan activities. As a consequence, the attainment of justice is extremely

difficult in cases involving Klansmen. It is virtually impossible in some communities to prosecute successfully a white man indicted in a case with a racial aspect, despite evidence of the commission of the crime by the accused. (41)

Effective legislation, competent investigation, and efficient law enforcement are important in combatting the Klan, which represents a thoroughly repugnant ideology and force inimical to the welfare of our country. But actions by agencies of the government will not be sufficient by themselves to bring the Klan under control.

In the final analysis, the primary responsibility for curbing the Klan rests with the public. (42) Only an aroused and mobilized public demand for the protection of freedom under law will bring about control of the Klan and an end to its 100-year-history of violence and lawlessness. Therefore, key segments of the population--especially business, education, labor, the professions, and the church--must join with governmental bodies in a constructive, systematic, coordinated, and total effort against the Klan.

SOURCES

1. 44-25873-115.
2. "FBI Appropriations 1966," pp. 82-83.
3. 157-5-34, pp. 3, 62.
4. 100-7801-3909, enc., p. 2.
5. 157-5-34, p. 3.
6. Ibid., p. 4.
7. Ibid., p. 48.
8. Ibid., p. 62.
9. Ibid., p. 63.
10. Ibid., p. 64.
11. Ibid., pp. 69-70.
12. Ibid., p. 7.
13. Ibid., pp. 8, 9.
- 13A. "The Fiery Cross," 5/20/64, p. 2.
- 13B. 157-5-34, p. 21.
14. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
15. 157-5-34, p. 12.
16. Ibid., p. 14.
17. Ibid., pp. 14-15.
18. 157-2121-22.
19. 157-2121-65.

94-1-369-2037

ENCLOSURE

22

20. 157-5-34, p. 32.
 21. 157-2121-22.
 22. 157-5-34, p. 31.
 23. Ibid., p. 27.
 24. Ibid., pp. 34-36.
 25. Ibid., p. 34.
 26. Ibid., p. 67.
 27. "The Fiery Cross," 5/20/64, p. 2.
 28. 157-5-34, pp. 85-86.
 29. Ibid., p. 80.
 30. Ibid., pp. 87-88.
 31. Ibid., p. 89.
 32. Ibid., pp. 104-105.
 33. Ibid., p. 108.
 34. Ibid., p. 94.
 35. Ibid., pp. 94-95.
 36. Ibid., p. 95.
 37. "FBI Appropriations 1966," p. 82.
 38. Ibid., p. 85.
 39. 173-954-81, 82, 85.
- u

39A. "FBI Appropriation 1966," p. 81.

40. 157-5-34, p. 110.

41. Ibid., pp. 110-111, 114.

42. Ibid., p. 117.

43. Ibid., pp. 117-118.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: April 4, 1966

FROM : W. M. Felt

SUBJECT: ALL-AMERICAN CONFERENCE TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
LUNCHEON MEETING, SATURDAY, 4-2-66, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
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Tavel _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

As approved by the Director, Inspector Edwards attended the captioned luncheon Saturday, 4-2-66, at the Washington Hotel and with Associate Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service, Mario Noto, also a member of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism, participated in receiving a Vigilant Patriot Award on behalf of the Association's committee. This award was based on the American Bar Association Committee's 1965 educational program of teaching teachers and otherwise encouraging programs in secondary schools and high schools to teach students in the contrast between communism and the American way of life.

Attached is a press release concerning all of the awards. There were 32 of them and they were all based in one form or another on some activity informing the public about the threats to American freedom through communism. Some of the other awards which might be of interest to the Bureau were:

1. Roscoe Drummond, for his speech, "The New Forward Thrust of Freedom";
2. Jeremiah O'Leary, Washington Star, for his article, "How Reds Tried to Seize Dominican Reins";
3. Mrs. Vera Glaser, syndicated writer for the North American Newspaper Alliance, for her series on activities of second generation communists on campus;
4. Dimitru Danielopol, Copley News Service, for his article, "Attitude of Youth Worries Reds";
5. William S. White, United Feature Syndicate, for his article, "United States at War - Time to Beat Drums, Not Breasts";
6. Kenneth O. Gilmore, Reader's Digest, for his article, "Cuba's Brazen Blueprint for Subversion"; and
7. Catholic War Veterans, for its booklet, "W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America."

Enclosures sent 4-5-66 94-1-369-

1 - Mr. DeLoach 1 - Mr. Wick 1 - Mr. Sullivan

HLE:mbk

(5)

NOT RECORDED
APR 21 1966

APR 21 1966

(CONTINUED - OVER)

ENCLOSURE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-1-369-1074

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

Re: All-American Conference to Combat Communism

Luncheon Meeting, Saturday, 4-2-66, Washington, D. C.

The Wackenhut Corporation received an award for its "Communism and You" series published in the Wackenhut Security Review. The American Security Council received an award for its weekly radio program, "Washington Report," featuring Senator Dodd and Congressman Judd.

It is felt the Crime Records Division may wish to recommend some of these awardees in the news media field for a letter of congratulations.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That Chairman Morris I. Leibman of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism be sent a letter of congratulations to the committee for its having been recognized for this award. If approved, Crime Records Division to handle.

72

2. That the Crime Records Division determine from the attached list of awardees whether any others should be recommended for a letter of congratulations.

ADDENDUM: 4-5-66

File
GEM:mel mel

72

The Crime Records Division recommends that letters be sent to those friendly writers who have received awards on articles directly related to FBI jurisdiction. These writers are Mrs. Vera Glaser of the North American Newspaper Alliance and Mr. Kenneth O. Gilmore of the Reader's Digest. Also Mr. Jeremiah O'Leary's article in the Washington Star related to FBI matters; however, a letter of congratulations was sent to him on March 16, 1966, based on an article in the Star on that date indicating he had been named to receive this award. Glaser and Gilmore are staunch friends of the FBI and letters to them, as well as to Mr. Leibman, are attached.

Enclosures (3) *yes*

- 2 -

V. ok. N *ds*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. DeLoach *DK*

DATE: April 1, 1966 *W.C.S.*

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: SUGGESTION BY MORRIS I. LEIBMAN
FOR ARTICLE ON KLAN

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Gandy _____

OK
Leibman
IL
5-10-66
Morris I. Leibman, Chicago attorney and a staunch friend of the Bureau, is Chairman of the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association. By letter dated 1/10/66, he suggested the Director prepare a by-line article for the "American Bar Association Journal," the official monthly organ of the American Bar Association, concerning the dangerous nature of the Klan.

Although Leibman indicated he did not have a definite commitment from the "American Bar Association Journal," he said he would make every effort to have the article published and to arrange for its later reprinting and distribution.

By letter dated 1/18/66, the Director informed Leibman that he would prepare such an article to reach him by early spring.

The article, entitled "The Resurgent Klan," has been prepared by the Domestic Intelligence Division. It was specifically tailored to the length and tone of articles which appear in the "American Bar Association Journal." Considerable publicity attended the recently concluded hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on the Klan during which numerous allegations were made. The Director's article is intended to give an accurate picture of the Klan and its activities at the present time.

Enclosure *(ORIGINAL Detached)*

94-1-369

REC-1 94-1-369-2037

EX-108

10 APR 26 1966

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Smith
- 1 - Mr. Garner

RSG:cr *W*

(9)

ENCLOSURE

CONTINUED - OVER

55 MAY 3 1966

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach
Re: Suggestion By Morris I. Leibman
For Article On Klan
94-1-369

The Crime Records Division reviewed the original draft of this article and that Division's suggested changes and modifications were given careful consideration in revising the article.

Mr. Leibman would appreciate receiving the article as soon as possible.

RECOMMENDATION:

That permission be granted for me to furnish the attached article to Mr. Leibman.

THIS SHOULD BE
RETURNED TO 5640
SO THAT APPROVAL
OF ROSENTHAL CAN
BE OBTAINED IN
DEPARTMENT. *SV*

V.
OK
SV

WCS
Ran *JS* *SW* *RS*
THU
XW

FOR FILE
OK BY ROSENTHAL
4/7/69
SV

F B I

Date: 4/19/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, HONOLULU 94-34

EDWARD W. *KUHN, PRESIDENT
~~AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION~~
RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE & TOURS)

HAWAII TENN. - CALIF

ReBuairtel 3/15/66.

Mr. and Mrs. KUHN arrived Honolulu 4/15/66 according to schedule and departed 2:55 p.m., 4/18/66, en route to their home town, Memphis, Tenn., with only overnight layover in Los Angeles at an airport hotel.

The KUHNs were met on arrival by SA J. STERLING ADAMS whose home town is Memphis, were assisted through INS and Customs and were driven to their hotel. SA ADAMS and KUHN have a number of mutual friends, among them former SA DON OWENS who is now practicing law in Memphis; therefore, the contact was most cordial and, while the KUHNs had no special requests and spent their time relaxing about the Royal Hawaiian Hotel where they were guests, SA ADAMS later drove them to the airport on departure and they expressed deep gratitude for the courtesies.

cc: [unclear]
③ Bureau
1 Honolulu
JSA:GHP
4

REC-43

94-1-369-2038

EX-108

18 APR 21 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

9 Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 4/30/66

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

24 Right
DC
 Pages 8048-8049. Congressman Patman, (D) Texas, placed in the Record an address delivered by Senator Hart, (D) Michigan, before the antitrust section of the American Bar Association on April 14, 1966. Mr. Patman advised that Mr. Hart "charges that current antitrust activities are being 'carried on in a low key.'"

Philip A
nick
DC

Original filed in: 66-1731-2346

REC-38

94-1-369-2039

NOT RECORDED

141 MAY 3 1966

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 4/19/66 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

50 MAY 9 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
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Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Felt *fr*

DATE: April 20, 1966

FROM : H. L. Edwards *HW*

SUBJECT: ~~AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION'S STANDING COMMITTEE~~
~~ON EDUCATION AGAINST COMMUNISM~~
REVISED DRAFT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" STUDY

On 4-20-66 I received a revised draft of the "Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory," which captioned committee originally issued in booklet form in 1964. The 1964 publication was arranged for by the committee through Richard V. Allen, a research specialist at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic Studies. Allen is very favorably known to the Bureau and particularly to Assistant Director Sullivan. The 1964 publication was very well done. The Bureau had an opportunity to review it in draft form and to informally make available through the American Bar Association's Committee its observations and suggestions. The study exposes the myth and fallacy in the communist doctrine of peaceful coexistence. *oc*

In view of the popularity of the 1964 study and continuing demand for copies of it, the American Bar Association's Committee arranged for Mr. Allen to update the study which has resulted in the current provisional draft entitled "Convergence, Coexistence, or Aggression? Evolving Communist Strategies." The Committee has made available the attached provisional draft for our review and any suggested changes. Mr. Allen requests all committee members to submit their comments to him no later than May 2, 1966. Of course, any comments the Bureau has can be handled by me through the committee on an informal basis so that we will get the benefit of having any changes made we desire and yet not have any attribution to the Bureau. BOOKLET

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached draft be promptly forwarded to the Domestic Intelligence Division for its careful review and any recommended additions, deletions or other changes which, after approval, should be sent to me in ample time to handle them with Mr. Allen through Committee Chairman Morris I. Leibman.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. DeLoach

HLE:mbk

(5)

54 MAY 9 1966

REC 12 94-1-369-2040
HW
fr

15 MAY 4 1966

W. C. Sullivan (encl.)
4/26/66
W. C. Sullivan

Memorandum R. W. Smith to W. C. Sullivan
Re: AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION'S STANDING COMMITTEE
ON EDUCATION AGAINST COMMUNISM
REVISED DRAFT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" STUDY

The study concludes that the communists have not given up their long-range goal of world domination and that a "period of apparent 'peace' and relaxation, regardless of how inviting it may seem, must not be allowed to lower the guard of the free world."

Typical of the numerous quotations from authoritative communist sources used in the study is the following quotation by CPSU leader Brezhnev:

"Combatting bourgeois ideology . . . is of the utmost importance. We should never lose sight of the fact that imperialism is our class enemy. It conducts subversive activities against the socialist system, its principles, its ideology, and its morals. . . . In all circumstances, the struggle against bourgeois ideology must be uncompromising, because it is a class struggle."(107)

It is believed that the revised version when published will be of value, like the 1964 study, as a warning against dropping our nation's defense against the communist menace. There is no reference to the Bureau in this study.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the suggestions in the enclosed list be furnished to Mr. H. L. Edwards for liaison with the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association.

*Handled Separately
5/2/66
HKK*

*P V WEL JV
Jo FV GRC PJD*

SUGGESTED CHANGES IN DRAFT

1. Page 3. - paragraph 2 - line 2. Membership of Communist Party of the Soviet Union is 12 million, according to "Soviet Life," February, 1966, page 5.
2. Page 111 - long paragraph - next to last sentence re communists providing a "victim" of police brutality by arranging for the shooting of an innocent bystander or a noncommunist demonstrator. Suggest that, unless there is a reliable source for this statement, the sentence be revamped to show communists seize on such incidents as shooting of innocent bystanders or noncommunist demonstrators for propaganda exploitation.
3. Page 153. It is suggested that the Director's book, "A Study of Communism," be included in the "Books for Further Reading" section of the revised pamphlet since it contains valuable material on the subject of peaceful coexistence and communist tactics and aims.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - DeLoach
1 - Mohr
1 - Felt
1 - Edwards

DATE: April 26, 1966

FROM : Mr. R. W. Smith

1 - Sullivan
1 - Smith
1 - Garner
1 - J. M. Sizoo

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Gandy _____

SUBJECT: ~~AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION'S STANDING COMMITTEE~~
~~ON EDUCATION AGAINST COMMUNISM~~
REVISED DRAFT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" STUDY
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

By attached memorandum from Mr. Edwards to Mr. Felt, dated 4/20/66, same caption, the Domestic Intelligence Division was requested to review and to suggest changes or additions to the attached revised draft of ~~"Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory"~~ which captioned Committee originally issued in booklet form in 1964 to expose the deceit of the communist line of peaceful coexistence. The revised draft entitled ~~"Convergence, Coexistence, or Aggression?: Evolving Communist Strategies"~~ was prepared by Dr. Richard V. Allen of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic Studies who also prepared the 1964 study. Dr. Allen is very favorably known to the Bureau. The 1964 study was also reviewed both in draft form and in published pamphlet form. *Booklet*

The revised study updates and expands the prior study's theme that communist peaceful coexistence is not a truce in the conflict between the communist and noncommunist worlds, but rather a line of communist strategy which continues the struggle by world communism to dominate the world. The study now includes quotations from Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the latest being from his report to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU in March, 1966. The Brezhnev quotations indicate he follows Khrushchev's thinking on peaceful coexistence. A quotation from Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, appears in the study, describing peaceful coexistence as a "weapon of struggle."

New material in the study covers the use by communists of their education, literature and art, news media, atheism, and morality as ideological weapons to control their own people and to extend their influences. The study cautions that communists use alliances or coalitions with noncommunists only until they have built sufficient strength to achieve communist ends, at which time, the noncommunists are overwhelmed. The study also mentions that differences between communist and noncommunist worlds are irreconcilable, not because of the noncommunist world but because communism believes there can never be agreement of their system with noncommunist systems.

CONTINUED - OVER

JMS:mac (9)

ENCLOSURE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
EDWARD W. KUHN



Box 123

Memphis, Tennessee
April 25, 1966

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover,
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

For three weeks during this month, my wife and I travelled to the Orient concerning American Bar Association matters and during the course of our visits we were met by your agent, Mr. Adsit at Anchorage, Alaska, and by Mr. Sterling Adams in Honolulu. In addition a representative of your office called us from the American Embassy in Tokyo.

I want you to know how deeply we appreciate the interest that your department took in our welfare during our visit and especially to commend Messrs. Adsit and Adams. They were very efficient, courteous and accommodating.

The Association also appreciates the deep interest that your Department takes in our officials welfare.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD W. KUHN
P.O. Box 123
150 E. COURT AVENUE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38101

EWK/p



Edward W. Kuhn

REC-111

18 APR 28 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

May 2, 1966

RE: 44-1-361-2042
Honorable Edward W. Kuhn
Post Office Box 123
Memphis, Tennessee 38101

Dear Mr. Kuhn:

I have received your letter of April 25th concerning courtesies extended by this Bureau to Mrs. Kuhn and you during your recent visit to the Orient. You are assured it was a privilege for my associates to be of help, and they join me in expressing thanks for your generous comments.

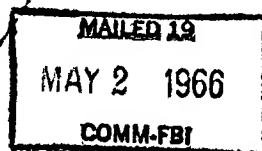
Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

- 1 - Anchorage - Enclosure
- 1 - Memphis - Enclosure
- 1 - Honolulu - Enclosure
- 1 - Tokyo - Enclosure
- 1 - Inspector Edwards - Enclosure
- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit - Enclosure
- 1 - Personnel File - SA J. Sterling Adams - Enclosure
- 1 - Personnel File - SA [redacted] - Enclosure

NOTE: Mr. Kuhn is on the Special Correspondent's List. He is president-elect of the American Bar Association, and our relations with him have been most cordial. Special Agent Adams is assigned to the Honolulu Office. [redacted] is Legat in Tokyo.

JRP:rks (11)

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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TO : MR. FELT *fw*

DATE: April 20, 1966

FROM : H. L. EDWARDS *hw*

SUBJECT: AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION
PACIFIC-SOUTHWEST REGIONAL MEETING
JUNE 8 - 10, 1966
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

One of the two 1966 American Bar Association Regional Meetings has been scheduled for the period June 8 - 10, 1966, at San Diego, California. Normally the Bureau liaison representative will attend the regional meeting if there is something substantial on the program of interest to the Bureau.

I have been advised that the San Diego Regional Meeting will include a program of the Criminal Law Section on the subject of "Civil Disobedience and the Law." The panelists will be Chief of Police William H. Parker of the Los Angeles Police Department; Superior Judge Earl C. Broady of Los Angeles County who was the Negro member of Governor Brown's commission on the Los Angeles Watts riots; and J. Frank Coakley, District Attorney of Alameda County, Oakland, California, who was responsible for prosecuting the demonstrators on the Berkeley campus. Former Special Agent Evelle J. Younger, currently District Attorney of Los Angeles County and a member of the Council of the Criminal Law Section will preside at this program. I was prevented from attending this year's midyear meeting of the American Bar Association at Chicago in February, 1966, because of your absence on special assignment, but I understand that Younger has been designated to be responsible for formulating the program for the Criminal Law Section at the San Diego meeting. Undoubtedly a large portion of this program on civil disobedience will involve the Watts riots. It will be recalled that a similar program restricted to the Watts riots was put on at the National District Attorneys Association meeting in Tucson, Arizona, in early March, 1966, with the same panelists except Coakley. I covered that program, particularly because of Parker's presence and reported that no controversial issues involving the Bureau or criticism of the Director were involved. Shortly after the Tucson program we received word that Chief Parker had gone on an extended indefinite period of absence from his position because of illness and it is not known whether he will be physically available to participate in the San Diego panel. *u*

In view of the Bureau's interest in this subject, I feel we should have coverage there. However, I have a conflict in that the National District Attorneys

1 - Mr. Wick *2* 1 - Mr. DeLoach

HLE:phg (5) MAY 12 1966

MAY 10 1966

CONTINUED - OVER *10/11*

Memorandum to Mr. Felt

Re: American Bar Association

Pacific-Southwest Regional Meeting

Association has scheduled a prosecutors' seminar in Washington during the week of June 6 - 10 and on June 8 the entire day at this seminar will be handled by the FBI. Under these circumstances and because of your continued absence on special assignment I feel the San Diego Regional Meeting of the ABA should be covered through the San Diego Office. If this is agreeable I will be able to sufficiently orient the SAC at San Diego so that he will be able to effectuate proper coverage of this meeting.

RECOMMENDATION

That approval be given for having the Pacific-Southwest Regional Meeting of the ABA, June 8 - 10, at San Diego covered by the SAC at San Diego. If approved, this memorandum should be returned to me for taking the necessary action to brief the SAC at San Diego.

*Handled
separately
HRE/1966*

*OK.
J*

R

V. HNV

XV

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AV